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NON-OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

A Study in Canadian Multiculturalism

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Table of Contents

- ix List of Tables

CHAPTER I.

- 1 INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER II.

- 4 **CONTEXTS OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL RETENTION
IN CANADA**

- 4 Generation

- 6 Historical Patterns of Immigration and Current Generational
Differences

- 6 **A. 1900-1914**

- 8 **B. 1919-1939**

- 11 **C. Post-World War II**

- 11 Occupational Mobility

- 13 Education

- 16 Residential Mobility

- 17 Institutions and Interpersonal Relations

- 19 Inter marriage

- 20 Ethnic Organizations

- 22 The Survey

CHAPTER III.

- 24 **THE METROPOLITAN ETHNIC GROUP SAMPLE AND
INTERVIEWS**

- 24 The Sample

- 24 **A. Choice of cities**

- 26 **B. Sampling objectives**

- 28 **C. Sample stratification**

- 29 **D. Double sampling**

- 30 E. Sampling results
- 31 F. Population estimates
- 34 Selected Sample Characteristics: Generation, City of Residence, Age and Sex
- 34 A. Generation
- 36 B. City of residence
- 37 C. Age and sex
- 39 The Interview

CHAPTER IV.

42 KNOWLEDGE AND USE OF NON-OFFICIAL LANGUAGES AND SUPPORT FOR THEIR RETENTION

43 Section 1—Knowledge of Non-Official Languages

- 43 A. The language knowledge index
- 46 B. Generational differences in language knowledge
- 48 C. Income, education, and knowledge of the non-official language

52 Section 2—Use of Non-Official Languages

- 52 A. Frequency of use
- 61 B. Context of use of non-official languages
 - 61 Use in social interaction
 - 66 Use among ethnic press readers
 - 68 Use among radio and television audiences

72 Section 3—Support for Non-Official Language Retention

- 73 A. Number of persons supporting language retention
- 74 B. Proportions supporting language retention
- 75 C. Consensus and polarization in attitudes towards language retention
- 77 D. Relative importance of language retention and other group concerns
- 85 E. Reasons given for non-official language support
- 87 F. Location of support for language retention
- 91 G. Language knowledge and support for language retention
- 94 H. Generational differences in support for language retention
- 97 I. Ethnic self-identification and support for language retention
- 106 J. Education and support for language retention
- 113 K. Income and support for language retention
- 114 L. Age and support for language retention

119 **Section 4—Focus of Support for Language Retention**

- 119 **A.** The education of children
- 141 **B.** Religious institutions
- 142 **C.** The ethnic press
- 147 **D.** Ethnic radio and television
- 151 **E.** Other foci of concern
- 151 **F.** Relation between general support for language retention and support for specific cultural facilities
- 154 **G.** Attitudes toward multiculturalism

155 **Section 5—Further Analyses of Language Knowledge, Use and Support**

- 156 **A.** Analysis of determinants of language knowledge, use and support in ten ethnic groups combined
- 160 **B.** Group-by-group analysis of determinants of language knowledge, use and support

CHAPTER V.


164 **THE FINDINGS REVIEWED AND DISCUSSED**

- 165 Non-Official Language Knowledge
- 167 Non-Official Language Use
- 170 Support for Non-Official Language Retention

APPENDICES

- 179 **A.** Strata Construction
- 186 **B.** Sampling Parameters
- 190 **C.** Sample Weights
- 192 **D.** Socio-Demographic Data
- 266 **E.** Interview Schedule

271 **BIBLIOGRAPHY**



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List of Tables

page

15	2.1	Attendance at language classes outside the school
15	2.2	Five most attended language classes for both Canadian and foreign-born
25	3.1	Percentage non-English and non-French, by province, and by city for cities over 100,000 (asterisked cities were chosen for inclusion in this study)
27	3.2	Number of persons of various ethnic origins, by city, and for all Canada
27	3.3	Sample constraints: desired distribution over ethnic groups and cities
29	3.4	Concentration of mother tongue groups in sample strata and in total population
29	3.5	Percent of mother tongue group falling outside its appropriate stratum, five metropolitan areas combined
30	3.6	Sample distribution, by ethnic group and city
31	3.7	Weighted and unweighted ethnic group marginals, and average weighting factor
32	3.8	1971 census distribution of ten ethnic groups over five cities, among those 18 years of age and older
32	3.9	Estimated 1973 distribution of ten ethnic groups over five cities, among those 18 years of age and older
33	3.10	Discrepancies between estimated 1973 distribution and 1971 census distribution of ethnic groups, by group and by city (expressed as a percent that 1973 estimate exceeds 1971 census)
34	3.11	Percentages of each generational group, by ethnic group
35	3.12	Immigrants' length of time in Canada
36	3.13	Percentage in each generational group, by city
37	3.14	Percentage in each city, by ethnic group
38	3.15	Age distribution in the sample
38	3.16	Sex distribution in the sample
39	3.17	Languages in which interviews were conducted
43	4.1	Percentages reporting each mother tongue, by ethnic group
44	4.2	Percentages reporting specific levels of knowledge in the non-official language, among those who have some knowledge of the non-official language
45	4.3	Percentages at each level of non-official language knowledge, by ethnic group
45	4.4	Percentages at each level of non-official language knowledge, by generation
46	4.5	Percentages fluent in the non-official language, by ethnic group and generation (N)

48	4.6	Percentages with some knowledge of non-official languages but not fluent, by ethnic group and generation (N)
49	4.7	Percentages fluent in the non-official language, by ethnic group and city (N)
50	4.8	Percentages at each level of non-official language knowledge, by annual family income
50	4.9	Percentages at each annual family income level, by generation
51	4.10	Percentages at each level of non-official language knowledge, by years of education
51	4.11	Percentages at each level of education, by generation
52	4.12	Percentages at each level of non-official language knowledge, by generation and years of education
53	4.13	Percentages at each level of non-official language use, by language knowledge
53	4.14	Percentages at each level of non-official language use, by generation
54	4.15	Percentages at each level of non-official language use, by generation and language knowledge
55	4.16	Percentages at each level of non-official language use, by ethnic group
55	4.17	Percentages at each level of non-official language use, by ethnic group and language knowledge
57	4.18	Percentages at each level of non-official language use, by city
57	4.19	Percentages at each level of non-official language use, by city and language knowledge
58	4.20	Percentages using the non-official languages at various degrees of frequency, by generation and city
59	4.21	Percentages at each level of non-official language use, by city and ethnic group
62	4.22	Language use in speaking to various types of persons
63	4.23	Percentages reporting at least some use of the non-official language in speaking to various types of persons, by language knowledge (N)
64	4.24	Percentages reporting at least some use of the non-official language in speaking to various types of persons, by ethnic group
64	4.25	Percentages reporting at least some use of the non-official language in speaking to various types of persons, by ethnic group, fluent respondents only
65	4.26	Percentages reporting exclusive use of the non-official language in speaking to various types of persons, by ethnic group, fluent respondents only
66	4.27	Percentages having read a non-official language newspaper or bulletin during the preceding year, by ethnic group
67	4.28	Percentages reading non-official language newspapers or bulletins at varying degrees of frequency, by ethnic group

68	4.29	Percentages having read non-official language newspaper or bulletins for various lengths of time, by ethnic group
69	4.30	Percentages having read a non-official language newspaper or bulletin during the preceding year, by ethnic group and language knowledge (N)
70	4.31	Percentages reading non-official language newspapers or bulletins at varying degrees of frequency, by ethnic group and language knowledge
71	4.32	Percentages listening to known non-official language radio programs at varying degrees of frequency, by ethnic group
72	4.33	Percentages listening to known non-official language radio programs at varying degrees of frequency, by language knowledge
73	4.34	Percentages viewing known non-official language television programs at varying degrees of frequency, by ethnic group
74	4.35	Number of persons with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by ethnic group
75	4.36	Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by ethnic group
76	4.37	Average opinion and degree of polarization of non-official language support, by ethnic group
78	4.38	Percentages rating each possible problem confronting members of their own ethnic group at varying degrees of seriousness
79	4.39	Percentages rating each possible problem confronting their own ethnic group at varying degrees of seriousness, by ethnic group
84	4.40	Summary table: percentages rating each possible problem confronting their own ethnic group as "very serious", by ethnic group
85	4.41	Percentages giving various reasons for the desirability of language retention, by attitude toward language retention
86	4.42	Ethnic groups in which one-third or more of those in favour of language retention give each reason as most important
87	4.43	Percentages giving various reasons for the undesirability of language retention, by attitude toward language retention
88	4.44	Ethnic groups in which one-third or more of those opposed to language retention give each reason as most important
88	4.45	Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by city
89	4.46	Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by city and ethnic group
92	4.47	Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by language knowledge

93	4.48	Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by language knowledge and ethnic group
95	4.49	Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by generation
95	4.50	Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by generation and ethnic group
97	4.51	Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by ethnic identification
98	4.52	Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by ethnic identification and ethnic group
100	4.53	Percentages expressing various types of self-identification, by generation
100	4.54	Percentages expressing various types of self-identification, by generation and ethnic group
102	4.55	Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by identification and generation
103	4.56	Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by identification, generation, and ethnic group
106	4.57	Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by years of education
106	4.58	Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by years of education and ethnic group
109	4.59	Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by generation and years of education
110	4.60	Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by generation, years of education, and ethnic group
113	4.61	Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by annual family income
114	4.62	Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by annual family income and ethnic group
115	4.63	Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention by age
116	4.64	Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by age and ethnic group
120	4.65	Percentages of parents with various attitudes toward language retention by their own children, by general attitude toward language retention
120	4.66	Percentages of parents with various attitudes toward language retention by their own children, by general attitude toward language retention, and ethnic group
122	4.67	Percentages of parents giving various reasons for favouring language retention by their own children, by general attitude toward language retention

123	4.68	Percentages of parents giving various reasons for favouring language retention by their own children, by general attitude toward language retention, and ethnic group
125	4.69	Percentages assigning primary responsibility to each agent for teaching the ethnic history, language and culture to children of non-official language groups, by generation
125	4.70	Percentages assigning primary responsibility to each agent for teaching the ethnic history, language and culture to children of non-official language groups, by ethnic group
126	4.71	Percentages assigning primary responsibility to each type of school for teaching the language, history and culture of non-official language groups (assuming schools are used), by generation
127	4.72	Percentages assigning primary responsibility to each type of school for teaching the language, history and culture of non-official language groups (assuming schools are used), by generation and ethnic group
129	4.73	Percentages assigning costs to each source for the instruction of children of non-official language groups in the language, history and culture of their ethnic origin, by generation
129	4.74	Percentages assigning costs to each source for the instruction of children of non-official language groups in the language, history and culture of their ethnic origin, by generation and ethnic group
131	4.75	Percentages with each attitude toward their own children taking non-official language courses were they available in local public and secondary schools, by generation
132	4.76	Percentages with each attitude toward their own children taking non-official language courses were they available in local public and secondary schools, by generation and ethnic group
134	4.77	Percentages with each attitude toward their own children taking courses in which the non-official language was the language of instruction, by generation
134	4.78	Percentages with each attitude toward their own children taking courses in which the non-official language was the language of instruction, by generation and ethnic group
136	4.79	Percentages assigning each degree of importance to more ethnic schools in Canada as a means of language retention, by ethnic group

137	4.80	Percentages assigning each degree of importance to better ethnic schools in Canada as a means of language retention, by ethnic group
138	4.81	Percentages assigning each degree of importance to more ethnic schools in Canada as a means of language retention, by language knowledge and ethnic group
140	4.82	Percentages assigning each degree of importance to better ethnic schools in Canada as a means of language retention, by language knowledge and ethnic group
142	4.83	Percentages indicating each present religious preference, by ethnic group
143	4.84	Percentages associated with church where members have various ethnic compositions, by ethnic group
143	4.85	Percentages associated with churches in which various languages are used in the service, by ethnic group
144	4.86	Percentages who feel that various languages should be used in church services, by ethnic group
144	4.87	Percentages who perceive various effects of church use of the non-official language on language retention, by ethnic group
145	4.88	Percentages assigning each degree of importance to more ethnic newspapers in Canada, by ethnic group
146	4.89	Percentages assigning each degree of importance to better ethnic newspapers in Canada, by ethnic group
146	4.90	Percentages who read ethnic newspapers or bulletins containing sections in English or French, by ethnic group
147	4.91	Percentages who feel ethnic newspapers and bulletins should contain sections written in English or French, by ethnic group
148	4.92	Percentages who read ethnic newspapers or bulletins written entirely in English or French, by ethnic group
148	4.93	Percentages expressing various degrees of interest in listening to non-official language radio programs should such programs become available, by ethnic group
149	4.94	Percentages expressing various degrees of interest in various non-official language television programs should such programs become available, by ethnic group
150	4.95	Percentages assigning various degrees of importance to more non-official language television programming, by ethnic group
151	4.96	Percentages assigning various degrees of importance to better non-official language television programming, by ethnic group
152	4.97	Percentages assigning various degrees of importance to possible means of language retention
153	4.98	Correlation between general language support and support for specific cultural facilities, by ethnic group

154	4.99	Percentages expressing various attitudes toward the multicultural policy, by generation
155	4.100	Percentages expressing various attitudes toward the multicultural policy, by generation and ethnic group
157	4.101	Correlation matrix for all respondents
160	4.102	Correlation coefficient for the effort of generation on language knowledge, by ethnic group
161	4.103	Regression on frequency of use of the non-official language, by ethnic group
162	4.104	Regression of support for retention of the non-official language, by ethnic group
180	A.1.	Montreal metropolitan area, sample strata distribution, by mother tongue
181	A.2	Toronto metropolitan area, sample strata distribution, by mother tongue
182	A.3	Winnipeg metropolitan area, sample strata distribution, by mother tongue
183	A.4	Edmonton metropolitan area, sample strata distribution, by mother tongue
184	A.5	Vancouver metropolitan area, sample strata distribution, by mother tongue
185	A.6	Sample strata distribution, by mother tongue, five metropolitan areas combined
187	B.1	First phase sampling ratios, by stratum
188	B.2	Second phase sampling ratios for eligible respondents, by ethnic group and city
189	B.3	Expected sample distribution, by ethnic group and city
192	D.1	Self-identification, by ethnic group
193	D.2	Proportional distribution of the weighted sample, by ethnic group in each city
193	D.3	Country of origin of respondent, by ethnic group
194	D.4	Primary type of location in which respondent spent most of pre-adult years
195	D.5	Parent(s) lived with during the pre-adult years of respondents then living in Canada
195	D.6	Age of respondent upon arrival in Canada
196	D.7	Age at which respondent learned English well enough to use it in conversation
196	D.8	Age at which respondent learned French well enough to use it in conversation
197	D.9	Age at which respondent learned the non-official language well enough to use it in conversation
198	D.10	Country of birth of the respondent's mother
199	D.11	Country of birth of the respondent's father
200	D.12	Country of birth of the respondent's grandmother
201	D.13	Country of birth of the respondent's grandfather
202	D.14	Country of birth of the respondent's spouse
203	D.15	Country of birth of the mother of the respondent's spouse
204	D.16	Country of birth of the father of the respondent's spouse
205	D.17	Number of years of education of the respondent, by ethnic group

206	D.18	Number of years of education of the respondent's mother
206	D.19	Number of years of education of the respondent's father
206	D.20	Number of years of education of the respondent's spouse
207	D.21	Past attendance of ethnic school, by respondent
207	D.22	Respondent's perception of the effectiveness of the ethnic school in teaching the non-official language
208	D.23	Age of respondents, by ethnic group
208	D.24	Proportion in each generational group according to ethnic origin
209	D.25	Generation distribution, by ethnic group
210	D.26	Mother tongue stated by respondents
211	D.27	Reported mother tongue retention levels, by ethnic group
212	D.28	Composition of respondent's neighbourhood
213	D.29	Number of children, by ethnic group
214	D.30	Frequency of church attendance, by respondents, during pre-adult years
215	D.31	Present religious preference of respondent
216	D.32	Present strength of respondent's religious beliefs
217	D.33	Religious preference of respondent's spouse

The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was mandated to deal with French-English relations in Canada, but in the end felt called upon to devote an entire volume—Book IV—to “the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution (RCBB, I, p. xxi).” Inevitably, however, the Commission approached the subject of the “other” Canadian ethnic groups in the context of its overall mandate, that is, in relation to the basic problems of bilingualism and biculturalism and in the context of the coexistence of francophone and anglophone communities. As a result, Book IV was not an exhaustive study of the non-British and non-French ethnic groups in Canada, but rather, “an examination of the way they have taken their place within the two societies that have provided Canada’s social structures and institutions (RCBB, IV, p. 3).”

The Commission did pose two basic questions: “To what degree have Canadians whose origin is neither French nor British integrated with anglophone or francophone society? To what degree have they remained attached to their original cultures and languages? (RCBB, IV, p. 11).” Existing research at the time was not sufficient to answer these questions. Some data were available on language transfer patterns and on the use of ethnic languages in the public and private schools, colleges and universities, communications media and in literature. Qualitative histories of specific ethnic groups provided some additional information. But there was no systematic body of data which would permit detailed analyses and comparisons of trends in the various ethnic groups.

The lack of research in the sociology of Canadian ethnic relations was explicitly stated by the Commission in its Report, and it was in response to this statement that the Federal Government proposed the Culture Development Program. The program was to emphasize in particular research on **language**, the desire for language retention, and, to an extent, the relation between language and cultural retention.

According to the government,

A culture development program will be instituted to produce much-needed data on the precise relationship of language to cultural development. It will provide essential information on the extent and nature of the demands of individual cultural groups for language retention and cultural development. It will examine existing organizations and facilities, including educational institutions, the press, radio and television to determine the part they now play and their potential role in cultural development.

(House of Commons Debates, 1971, p. 8582)

What is needed is

an information base for future long-range planning by the Citizenship Branch, the cultural agencies, and other government departments.

(House of Commons Debates, 1971, p. 8582)

This quotation effectively states the purpose of this study. It is designed primarily to examine the desire for language retention and the correlates of that desire. Should the results of the study deepen and extend the base of knowledge of linguistic and cultural

aspects of Canadian ethnic groups so that eventual policy decisions may be made with greater confidence, a substantial additional benefit will have been achieved.

The present study is based upon a large number of detailed and systematic interviews with representative samples of ten ethnic groups in five metropolitan areas throughout Canada. These interviews touched on many topics relevant to language and culture retention, as well as on general social and economic characteristics. The results reported are limited in their generalizability to the groups and areas involved.

The ten groups are the Chinese, Dutch, Germans, Greeks, Hungarians, Italians, Polish, Portuguese, Scandinavians and Ukrainians. Information was taken in Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Edmonton and Vancouver. A description of the reasons for these selections appears in Chapter III. They provide data that are extremely rich, and the authors estimate that many years will be required to exploit their full potential contribution to the understanding of the ethnic component of Canadian life.

This first report on the five-city ethnic group survey will deal primarily with the extent of non-official language knowledge in the ten ethnic groups, the use of those languages in a variety of social contexts and the degree of popular support for continued maintenance of these non-official languages in the five cities in Canada. The broad contours will be traced, and then related to such conditioning social factors as generation and length of time in Canada, education, income, and residential segregation. The relevance of specific facilities, such as the ethnic media and ethnic schools, also will be considered. These topics are central to the larger question of cultural development and retention, and their detailed analysis constitutes a key first step in any broad program of research on language and cultural development.

The significance of language retention in the overall question of cultural retention is one of the most important working assumptions of this study. According to the Royal Commission, language is "an essential expression of a culture" and a "natural vehicle for a host of other elements of culture". Although it is noted that some groups do retain distinctive cultural traits despite their disappearing native languages (as in the case of the Acadians in the Maritimes and the Canadian Jews), the Commission felt that in most cases, the original cultural traits survive only partially after the adoption of the English or French language. They almost disappear after several generations. Thus, culture and language cannot be dissociated.

Academic researchers are not yet in complete agreement on the precise role of language in cultural retention. Stanley Lieberson (1970), for example, concluded from his study that the surrender of distinctive mother tongues is a necessary step in the assimilation of ethnic groups constantly in contact with a dominant language. He essentially agrees with the Royal Commission that although some groups may retain their identity without a unique tongue, maintenance of the ethnic tongue ensures that complete assimilation will not take place. But more than this, he feels that "mother-tongue maintenance is not merely an influence on ethnic assimilation but a highly significant force compared to other factors commonly held to play a role in differentiating ethnic groups in contact (Lieberson, p. 30)."

On the other hand, Joshua Fishman's study of language loyalty in the United States (1966) emphasized that ethnicity continued to exist despite the disappearance of the ethnic language. To some degree, language retention may be only one possible reflection of the preservation of an underlying group identity and culture, while other aspects may in some ways be as crucial to the maintenance of that group identity and culture. The authors of the present study do not disagree with this position. What is assumed is that language retention is an important aspect of cultural retention, and that it plays a dynamic role in cultural development and change.

The report of this study is divided into three major chapters. Chapter II examines existing research on the retention of non-official languages and cultures for the purpose of providing background information. Chapter III describes the sample of metropolitan Canadian ethnic groups drawn for this study. It also describes the construction and execution of the interviews. Chapter IV presents the analyses and interpretations of selected data.

Chapter IV is the core of the report, and is further divided into five subsections. The first four present basic results, and the fifth provides an overall assessment of the results as they bear on the main themes of this study.

Two main methods of data analysis have been employed.

The first is the simple cross-tabulation. Language knowledge, language use, and support for language retention are described for each group in each of the five metropolitan areas using tabular presentation which provides a great degree of empirical detail. Tabular methods are also used to analyze the effects of generation, education, income, and other variables on the three language variables, again to preserve the descriptive aspects. The results thus obtained should be especially valuable as a data base for policy decisions. The results indicate the very substantial differences which exist among ethnic groups in their knowledge of, use of, and support for non-official language retention. They also show that there is marked variation within the various non-official language groups themselves. This appears to be mainly related to generational differences. Other factors—education, self-identification and time in Canada—are important variables.

The second method of data analysis is multiple linear regression, which is used to amplify the analytic aspect of the tabular presentation. A series of regression analyses, using language knowledge, use, and support as the dependent variables, will help summarize the masses of data bearing on complex relations among the language variables themselves. It also analyzes the language variables and other variables—generation of the respondent, personal education, income, and so on. These analyses are presented in the fourth section of Chapter IV.

Throughout the entire report, we speak of “Germans”, “Ukrainians” or “Italians” in Canada simply to avoid cumbersome language. It would be tedious to repeatedly refer to “German-Canadians” or “Canadians of German origin”, even though our data indicate many respondents prefer to describe themselves in this way. Moreover, it should be emphasized that our sample represents only the ten largest non-official language groups, and within those groups, only persons residing in one of the five selected metropolitan areas. Therefore, when we speak of “Germans” or “Italians”, our remarks are intended to apply only to this urban segment of the designated group. The reader should bear in mind that the other segments of each group, urban or rural, may differ markedly from the metropolitan segment. The proportion of each group represented by the urban sample varies from group to group.

Quite clearly, this undertaking has been a complex and substantial task. Its completion as presented in the following report is truly but a beginning. What follows is a first and overview description of a very large amount of data, taken in Canada on Canadians and landed immigrants whose ethnic origin is neither English nor French. The report is complete only in that it examines the major questions asked in the study. It will be successful if it excites and encourages Canadian decision-makers and scholars to fully exploit the richness and strength of the data upon which it is founded.

Most previous research on the persistence of ethnic group distinctiveness in North America has not focused on language retention as a key aspect. Instead, it works at a broader level and deals with concepts such as “assimilation,” “integration,” and “acculturation.” We will need to examine this broader literature because of its relevance to language retention.

First, we want to stress the difference between language retention and the broader concepts. Assimilation is a most dramatic idea and to many in Canada a distasteful one. According to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1970), assimilation is the giving up of a cultural identity, an “almost total absorption into another linguistic and cultural group (RCBB, IV, p. 5).” Thus, an assimilated member of a non-British, non-French ethnic group is one who is culturally indistinguishable from the larger Canadian society. Obviously, such a person has abandoned the use of his ethnic language. He may **know** the language, but never **use** it, and is ambivalent to its retention and use by anyone else in Canada (Gordon, 1964).

On the other hand, an unassimilated member—that is, one who has not lost his ethnic identity—may vary in his orientation to language retention. He may retain its use. Others, like him, may not, but may still retain other features of their ethnic cultures. Since few would retain the use of an ethnic language without some other form of cultural retention, language retention then implies at least some cultural retention as well, while the reverse is not necessarily true. The question of whether non-retention of the ethnic language implies the beginning of an inevitable process of assimilation is an empirical one.

“Integration” and “acculturation” are much more limited. Integration entails that minority group members have begun to participate in most aspects of native social life, while acculturation implies that minority group members are able to adapt to and find meaning in the culture of the wider society. Neither of these implies assimilation. The idea of a multicultural society is that integration and acculturation both can occur without assimilation. Language and cultural retention remain possible but not inevitable. It may be unlikely, depending on whether or not the conditions exist under which it is possible to be meaningfully oriented to more than one culture over an extended period of time. This is a key issue in our own study.

The chapter has been written essentially to provide a context in which language and cultural retention among ethnic groups in Canada may be examined.

GENERATION The conventional wisdom of the “melting pot” in North America has been that ethnic assimilation is inevitable within one or two generations after immigration. Immigrants themselves more or less quickly replace “Old World” ways with North American ways; their children are exposed to socializing influences which drown out those of their ethnic past; and their grandchildren are virtually indistinguishable from the grandchildren of native-born North Americans. Under these conditions, language abandonment is also inevitable after a few generations. These ideas are more current in the United States than in Canada, but they are far from absent on the Canadian scene.

Studies in the United States have begun to seriously modify popular ideology

about the relation between generation and ethnic assimilation. In the first place, according to Fishman (1966), most pre-World War II immigrants in the United States became conscious of their own ethnicity only **after** immigration. In Europe, ethnic or group consciousness involved only the intelligentsia and the upper classes who more frequently remained in Europe, but it seldom ever reached the peasant. In North America, on the other hand, it encompassed all classes as it developed. This group consciousness developed for a variety of reasons. Confronted with a strange language and culture, the immigrant looked to his own group for the familiar so that he would not feel quite so lost and lonely in the new country. As Fishman puts it, the "old" helped to adjust to the "new." Also, their common problems helped to strengthen their identification with their group. Educated immigrants, especially those who came from countries under foreign domination, often saw themselves as preservers of the old country heritages and culture and thus showed strong feelings of ethnic identification.

As a result of this newly developed language and group consciousness, organizations, schools, publications and camps were set up for linguistic and cultural self-maintenance. This was especially true of the post-World War II immigrants, more of whom had stronger national sentiments and more of whom possessed formal education in their mother tongue. (See section on immigration).

In another study, also based on an American sample, Nahirny and Fishman (1965) explored the generational shift in ethnic identification. According to the two authors, most studies have ignored the fact that fathers, sons and grandsons may differ among themselves not only in the **degree** but also in the **nature** of their identification with ethnicity. Their research shows that for the fathers, both ethnic identification and orientation were a reality, something "deeply subjective and concrete" which could not be expressed in general symbolic terms. For the sons, ethnicity ceased being a complete pattern of daily life. They renounced all tangible elements of traditional ethnicity, but for some reason were inclined to embrace the intangible values attributed to the distant past of their fathers. The more intensely the sons despised their ethnic heritage, the more conscious they were of their ethnic identity. The grandsons, on the other hand, neither rejected nor rushed to embrace the past. The authors explain that since the grandsons never experienced marginality as the sons did, ethnicity became something to learn about and need not bear much relevance to daily life.

Hobart (1966) found similar modes of ethnic orientation in Canada among Ukrainians. The immigrant, or the father, was **of** the old society but no longer **in** it, and was **in** the new society but not **of** it. Among the sons, the attitudes towards their parents' culture were either ambivalent or rejecting. The finding for the grandsons was quite interesting as it revealed a certain relationship between the second and the third generations. If the sons had been ambivalent, then there was a greater tendency for the grandson to reject his ethnic background; whereas, if the son had rejected it, then the grandson was more prone to experience a new interest in the old country culture.

This particular relationship between the second and third generations which Hobart found in his Ukrainian sample was not evident in Bociurkiw's study (1970) of the ethnic identification of Ukrainian university students. Contrary to Hobart's findings, Bociurkiw's data showed that it was the children of Canadian-born parents who showed more anxiety about discrimination than did the children of immigrant parents. The feeling that their ethnic origin may be an obstacle in their future careers was strongest among the third generation Ukrainian-Canadians and weakest among non-Canadian born students. Attitudes toward assimilation and language retention, however, cut across all generations in that the majority of all students preferred "neither an ethnic 'ghetto' nor

complete assimilation into the dominant Anglo-Saxon group, but an integration into a multi-cultural Canadian society. (Bociurkiw, 1970, p. 37).” They also favoured the preservation and greater dissemination of the Ukrainian language and culture among Ukrainian-Canadians.

Thus, most, if not all, of the studies which have dealt with ethnic identification seem to imply a persistence of ethnic identification even among second and third generation ethnics and despite American or Canadian de-ethnicization. Fishman (1966) points out this double anomaly in American de-ethnicization: so many could be de-ethnicized so easily and yet, once de-ethnicized, they have not become even more indistinguishable. He wonders whether ethnicity provides something that Americanism cannot.

Glazer and Moynihan (1963) express a similar view to that of Fishman, namely that ethnic groups still exist as identifiable groups even though they may have been transformed by the influences of American society. They offer two possible explanations as to why “Americanization” did not transfer all groups into one. In the first place, there is the factor of initial attributes of each group. In the second place, there is the possibility of non-equal assimilation of all ethnic groups by the American society. Because the groups were initially different, it was thought that the assimilating trends occurring in the groups may be variable, with the result that the members of the third generation may be still as different from each other as their grandfathers had been.

HISTORICAL PATTERNS OF IMMIGRATION AND CURRENT GENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES

Any assessment of the effects of generation on language and cultural retention in Canada should take account as much as possible of the historical circumstances surrounding successive waves of immigration. Immigrants in different periods came for different reasons, with varying degrees of commitment to their native cultures, and encountered different conditions upon arrival in Canada. Although there are quite a few sources which provide some documentation on Canada's immigration (not adequately for all groups, however), most do not provide an overall picture of the situation but tend to dwell on a particular aspect of immigration. Indeed, there is quite a substantial gap in Canadian sociological literature in this instance. One of the more recent works on the subject is Howard Palmer's **Land of the Second Chance**, which does provide something of an overview, despite its primary concern with a single province. The reader will note that it is quite heavily referenced through the following discussion.

Indeed, it is important also to note that in many respects the current study is the first of its kind undertaken in Canada. One of its limitations is the serious lack of substantial earlier work on which to base both research design and to guide initial interpretations of the results.

Most likely, the immigration of non-British, non-French groups to Canada in the twentieth century can be divided into three distinct phases: 1900-1914, 1919-1939, and after World War II.

A. 1900-1914 Turn-of-the-century immigrants are primarily the source of the **third generation** in Canada today. Regardless of their country of origin, they had several things in common: most came for economic reasons (although some had political or religious reasons); most were poorly educated; and most had no knowledge of English or French. Survival and a secure economic future was their primary goal.

The largest proportion of non-British, non-French immigrants took up farms in Western Canada, encouraged by successive governments which saw settlement of the West as necessary to economic growth and national survival. The early Western settlers were primarily Dutch, German, Polish, Scandinavian and Ukrainian, and were

attracted by farmland because of their own agrarian background. (Palmer, 1972). Each group tended to concentrate itself in specific areas, because of differences in language and customs, thus giving rise to ethnic pockets in the West. These pockets served to ease the transition to a new way of life, but they also tended to foster linguistic and cultural retention. (McLeod, 1970).

Smaller ethnic concentrations, most notably Italians, Chinese and Jews*, were located in other parts of Canada (Canadian Citizenship Branch, 1967). The Chinese were brought in to complete the western section of the C.P.R. tracks. They remained concentrated in southern British Columbia once the job was completed. Italians and, to a lesser extent, Greeks were concentrated in eastern urban areas. Most Italian immigrants were attracted by construction jobs offered by agents in Toronto or in Montreal. They made their home base in these cities and many eventually settled there. Greeks, who were comparatively less numerous, more often tended to enter various commercial or business enterprises.

Fishman's (1965) discussion of early immigrants to the United States during this same period probably also applied to the early immigrants to Canada. He stressed that the ethnicity of most of the immigrants was very particularized. It constituted something "deeply subjective and concrete" and not formulated in general symbolic terms. The immigrants did not, for the most part, identify with ethnic categories. The fact that organizations set up by each ethnic group were more along **local** rather than **national** lines indicates that "they possessed many different ethnic pasts rather than one national past." To these immigrants, ethnicity was reality — part of everyday life — and not merely an abstract ideal to be cherished and appreciated as it was to become for the second generation.

The influence of each of these groups on today's third generation depends, to some extent, upon how each ethnic group was integrated into the larger Canadian society during this earlier period. This in turn may have depended upon a number of conditions: the attitudes of Canadians toward the new group, the group's own characteristics, and their attitudes toward Canada.

The Dutch, Scandinavian, and German immigrants were looked upon very favourably by native Canadians (Palmer, 1972). They were seen as competent farmers and hard workers and were expected to assimilate rapidly because of the similarity of their cultures. At the same time, these Northern Europeans were themselves eager to become part of Canadian society. Most intended to settle permanently in Canada. They wished to become integrated, and so learned English and became active in local affairs.

On the other hand, even among the Northern Europeans, there were some who did not want to assimilate completely, contrary to the beliefs of many native Canadians. Many of the Dutch, for example, belonged to very orthodox sects which discouraged intermarriage. This enhanced their group solidarity and to some extent countered the forces favouring assimilation. The Germans, the largest of the three groups, tended to become highly concentrated geographically, and as a result, achieved a significant degree of linguistic and cultural retention. Within some German sectarian groups, like the Hutterites and Mennonites, there was also a special desire to preserve the German language.

The Eastern Europeans — the Ukrainians and the Poles — also came with the

*Jews were not included in this study because of their appearance as a religious group within almost every one of the groups actually studied. Further discussion of this exclusion appears in Chapter III.

intention of remaining permanently, but they were not so warmly received by Canadians. Their traditions, customs, languages and life styles were more “peculiar,” and made them the object of discrimination. “By native Canadian standards, these peasants from south-east Europe were educationally deficient, socially backward, and strange in appearance (Palmer, 1972, p. 73).” In addition, their large numbers and their tendency to settle in compact communities, made native-Canadians worry that these immigrants would never assimilate and thus “would drag down the cultural level of the whole area and undermine ‘Anglo-Saxon’ institutions (Palmer, 1972, p. 73).” Only “immigration and colonization agents who were more prone to judge immigrants on the basis of their agricultural potential rather than their cultural characteristics, were more favourable in their assessment of the immigrants (Palmer, 1972, p. 75).”

Hostility toward Eastern Europeans began to decrease once they had a chance to prove their worth as agriculturalists. Eventually, Ukrainian and Polish immigrants were allowed to participate fully in community affairs — in education, and in other matters affecting their position in society. But although they became socially more accepted, they did not assimilate. In the first place, bloc settlements slowed down their integration into the general stream of Canadian society (Woycenko, 1967; Kos-Rabcewicz-Zubkowski, 1968). Moreover, they maintained a stronger sense of group identity than did the Northern Europeans, even though they tended to identify more with the region of the country from which they emigrated than with the country as a whole. They were afraid of losing their heritage and made strong efforts to retain their religious traditions, language and folk customs through the family, church, schools, organizations and the press. The cultural suppression they had experienced in their native lands was a major factor influencing this strong will to preserve their identity.

The Italians, Hungarians and Chinese who immigrated to Canada during this period differed from the other groups: most came intending only to make money and then return home. Since their stay was intended to be temporary, few made serious attempts to learn the English language or Canadian customs. Instead, they worked long hours to maximize their incomes. For their part, the native-Canadians did not encourage them to assimilate. The Chinese, in particular, remained distant from the rest of society and encountered discrimination, partially because their willingness to work for very low wages depressed the incomes of other Canadian workers. (Palmer, 1972).

Thus, the various ethnic groups which comprised this first wave of mass immigration to Canada differed substantially in the speed with which they began to assimilate. In general, it would appear that among others, the Scandinavians were the fastest in their rate of assimilation. The Dutch, Germans and Poles assimilated quite quickly, while Ukrainians, Hungarians, Italians and Chinese tended to be less likely to lose rapidly their ethnic distinctiveness. Among the various factors which may account for these differences, it is difficult to isolate the more important. All of those mentioned probably were relevant, but even the most rapidly assimilating groups did retain a residue of distinctive ethnic identity and culture, and language was nearly always perceived as a key aspect.

B. 1919-1939 Immigration resumed almost immediately after the halt during World War I, but with new restrictions. Immigrants from “enemy” countries, or those who spoke an “enemy” language, were refused entrance. In addition, immigrants from other southern and eastern European countries, as well as those from Asia, were severely limited. These restrictions were established to encourage immigration from the British Isles and northern Europe, “since it was thought that these people would assimilate more rapidly and were of ‘better stock’ (Palmer, 1972, p. 80).” With time, however, these restrictions were relaxed for some groups, and during the 1920’s, through an

agreement between the railway companies and the Federal Government, 165,000 Central and Eastern Europeans came to Canada.

This postwar wave of immigration essentially constitutes the source of today's **second generation**, although some of these immigrants are themselves still alive. They differed from the earlier wave in that fewer immigrants went to the West. More often they settled in urban and industrial areas in Ontario and Quebec, and in the lumber and mining towns of north-central Canada. During this same period, many of the prewar peasant immigrants also joined the move into towns and cities.

The postwar Dutch and Scandinavian immigrants were agriculturalists, and were similar in other respects to the Dutch and Scandinavian prewar immigrants, except that many now settled in eastern Canada, particularly in the fruit growing areas of southern Ontario, rather than in the West (cf. Canadian Citizenship Branch, 1967). In the East, they encountered some difficulties due to the different soil conditions and climate, as well as different work methods and customs, but they quickly adjusted to their new life. Aside from religious activities, no major organized efforts were made to preserve their ethnic customs and language.

Approximately 60,000 Germans came to Canada between 1923 and 1931, after which time the flow slowed to a trickle because of the political situation in Germany, as well as the economic and political situation in Canada. Most of them settled in the already existing German settlements in the West. Because of anti-German sentiment and discrimination against German-Canadians during the War and for a time later, German immigrants were reluctant to build up large and visible ethnic associations. A few organizations were set up at the regional level, but linguistic and cultural retention was supported mainly by the German churches and the family. The long term impact of these experiences is difficult to assess. The need to maintain a low social profile may speed up the assimilation process, but it may also serve as a basis for greater group solidarity.

Ukrainian immigrants to Canada during the 1920's had higher levels of education and technical skill than earlier Ukrainian immigrants. They tended to seek skilled work in urban centres.

Although the reasons for their coming to Canada were basically the same as those of the first settlers (economic and political), they had the advantage of some form of schooling, and many had high school or more advanced education. The war and technological progress had equipped them with more knowledge and skills. Many of them had served with the Ukrainian armies . . . They were inclined to urban living, and only a small number settled permanently on farms. Many looked on agricultural work as a temporary occupation for the transitional period until jobs in the city were available. Others, as soon as some capital had been accumulated, opened their own business establishments (Woycenko, 1967, p. 13).

Political change in Ukraine also made these immigrants different from the prewar group.

The rise and fall of the independent Ukrainian State (1917-1921) had developed in them a deep national consciousness; they were well versed in the historical past of their country. Nor were they confused as to their identity, a state of mind not shared by earlier immigrants (Woycenko, 1967, p. 13).

These more nationalistic immigrants looked upon the prewar settlers and their children as too "Canadianized". Dissatisfied with the existing ethnic organizations, they formed branches of the parent political bodies, and published their own newspapers and

periodicals to spread their ideologies and to recruit members. In addition to the already existing religious factions, the newcomers themselves were divided into political and ideological factions and, as a result, rivalry and friction within the community mounted, especially in the 1930's (Woycenko, 1967).

Like the Ukrainians, the Polish immigrants of this period tended to be better educated, more skilled, and more inclined to settle in the industrial centres of Ontario and Quebec. Also like the Ukrainians, the new Polish immigrants were more nationally conscious than the prewar Polish immigrants. They "... showed a much stronger interest in their own country. ... Some Poles in Canada thought of themselves as merely temporary immigrants who would return to their old country — hence they wanted to keep abreast of the political and economic situation there (Makowski, 1967, p. 86)." The new Polish organizations tended to have nationalistic ideologies.

In contrast with the Slavic communities, the old Hungarian-Canadian communities were fundamentally unchanged by the new Hungarian immigrants of the 20's and 30's. Newcomers either passively entered already existing Hungarian-Canadian institutions or became assimilated into the general Canadian society. However, this did not preclude any language maintenance efforts on the part of the Hungarian immigrants. The discrimination against foreigners in Canada and the political situation in Hungary tended to solidify and strengthen their ethnic life in Canada (Kosa, 1957). Like many of the other immigrants who came between the wars, a majority of the Hungarian immigrants were from the agrarian proletariat, though better skilled and more educated than those who came before the War. Unlike the earlier immigrants who flocked to the West, they tended to settle in the industrial areas of eastern Canada, especially in Ontario (Kosa, 1957).

Very few Italians entered Canada between the world wars because of Canada's immigration restrictions, the Depression, and Mussolini's discouragement of Italian emigration. Those who did come, came for economic reasons as had their predecessors. Some went to the West, but most tended to settle in the eastern urban centres, namely Montreal and Toronto. Lack of education and skills led to their concentration in manual jobs (Boissevain, 1970).

The Italians set up mutual benefit organizations, but never developed a strong ethnic association structure. Sectional cleavages within the Italian community, as well as their strong family ties, militated against the development of organizations (Boissevain, 1970). However, the Fascist movement in Italy did manage to gain considerable interest and support from Italians in Eastern Canada, and perhaps the new arrivals from Italy, who were concentrated mainly in the East, had aroused in the old immigrants a new interest in Italy (Palmer, 1972). Italians in the West, however, showed little, if any, interest in it and no Fascist organizations sprang up there.

For the Chinese, the period between the wars was a very difficult one. Anti-Oriental sentiment continued to grow and more and more restrictions were placed on them by the government. The Chinese were regarded as so different culturally and racially that assimilation was not advocated. Attempts were made "to keep the Chinese in subordinate positions in the economy, to segregate them residentially, and to deny them citizenship through disenfranchisement (Palmer, 1972, p. 57)." Finally, in 1923, the Chinese Immigration Act was passed which stopped nearly all Chinese immigration. Since the existing Chinese population contained few females, it began to shrink rapidly without replacements through immigration. Those who had families in Canada tried to adopt Western standards and ideas and to become assimilated (Palmer, 1972).

In summary, immigrants arriving between the two world wars were different from the prewar immigrants. Although many were still in the farming class, a larger proportion was better skilled, more educated, and more inclined to settle in urban areas. This new

influx of immigrants revived in the old immigrants an interest in their ethnic heritages and made them more politically conscious. This was especially true for the Ukrainians and the Poles, and to a lesser degree, for the Italians. The Scandinavians and the Dutch were the only groups who, despite a continuing constant flow of immigrants from their homelands, made no special attempts at maintaining their cultures on any large scale.

C. Post-World War II By far the largest proportion of immigrants alive in Canada today arrived after World War II. This postwar wave of immigration has been a longer phase than the previous ones, and has involved a wider variety of ethnic origin categories, social classes and occupations (RCBB, IV, 1970). Among the new immigrants are many who have been better educated and are more highly skilled than their predecessors, and who have tended to settle in cities, especially Montreal and Toronto. These immigrants were less inclined to establish concentrated settlements and had an easier time adjusting to and becoming an integrated part of Canadian society. The less well-educated immigrants were those from Southern Europe countries — Italy, Greece and Portugal — and they did tend to cluster in specific urban sectors. Adjustment for all immigrants after World War II was easier for two reasons. First, attitudes towards immigrants were not as hostile as they had been between the wars. Second, the severe labour shortage made good jobs available to a much larger proportion of the immigrants. Under such favourable conditions, adjustments to life in Canada were quickly made.

Because a majority of the postwar immigrants from eastern and central Europe were refugees, political emigrés, or former soldiers who had strong nationalistic feelings for their motherlands, assimilation did not readily follow integration. Instead, these immigrants in many instances set about to reinforce ethnic involvement within their respective communities. Particularly for Hungarian, Chinese, Polish and Ukrainian communities, the new immigration tended to reaffirm and strengthen a sense of ethnic identity. In such communities, ethnic tongue maintenance was usually highly encouraged. Those groups which apparently exhibited the strongest desire to maintain their ethnic tongue and culture came from countries behind the Iron Curtain. By contrast, it would appear that immigrants from Holland and Scandinavia had little effect on the cultural awareness of their ethnic communities, though they did add to their social organizational structure. Usually, in these communities, little emphasis was placed on language maintenance.

This historical pattern of immigration indicates that the relation between generation and language-culture retention is to an extent mediated by many other factors, among which are facets that are historical, economic, educational and organizational. Furthermore, the interrelations among these cannot yet be fully stated. What can be done is a listing of such factors and the provision of an indication of what previous researchers have found.

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY The degree to which immigrants and their descendants distribute themselves throughout the Canadian occupational structure is one potential indication of their integration into Canadian life. Such occupational integration is desirable, but the question arises whether it may foster cultural assimilation and/or loss of the ethnic language, and whether cultural and language retention may in any way inhibit occupational integration.

Immigrants very often were recruited for specific low-status occupations which became stereotyped as "immigrant occupations". Examples of such ethnic specialities were Italian construction workers, Chinese launderers and Ukrainian farmers. Since these "ethnic speciality" occupations are usually at the lower level of the scale, the

social mobility of an individual belonging to a highly stereotyped group could be quite limited (RCBB, IV, 1970; Porter, 1965).

Another theory concerning economic acculturation is one proposed by R. J. Silvers (Kurokawa, 1970). According to Silvers:

For industrial societies, (1) the higher the immigrant's former occupational status, (2) the more transferable his skill, (3) the less the positive value upon ethnic identity, by members of the host society, and (4) the more equal the prestige of the occupational field in the two societies, the greater the rate of acculturation (Kurokawa, 1970, p. 28).

Although this proposition was based on studies in the Manito and Mexican-American groups, it can be generalized to the Canadian situation and may help explain the differing rates of economic integration for the different ethnic groups.

Census statistics indicate that with an increasing period of residency in Canada, occupational and income characteristics change for the various ethnic groups, although not at the same rate for each. Kalbach's analyses of the social and economic situation in Canada (1970; based on 1961 Census Statistics) reveal some interesting occupational shifts both among and within Canadian ethnic groups. To a large extent, these shifts reflect the basic group characteristics of the different immigration waves. For the Dutch, German, Hungarian, Polish, Scandinavian and Ukrainian origin groups, both prewar immigrants and the native born had their highest relative concentration in farming and related occupations. For the postwar immigrants of most of these groups, the concentrations shifted to mining, crafts and related occupations, with the exception of the Dutch and Scandinavians who maintained their concentrations in the farming and related occupations. These particular origin groups show most distinctly the effects of the major shift from an agricultural to a more industrialized economy during the postwar period. For Italians, whose immigration trends tended to differ from the patterns of the groups mentioned above, the occupational pattern shifts from labourers to miners and to clerical and sales occupations as length of residence in Canada increases.

With respect to other occupational groups, such as managerial, professional, technical and clerical, there is considerable variation in patterns of relative concentration not only between groups but also within groups. However, the concentrations in managerial and professional occupations do tend to increase for all groups with the length of residency in Canada. Although such shifts in occupational concentrations may indicate directly increasing integration of ethnic groups into the Canadian social and economic structure, they also reflect changes in the economy, in manpower needs, in technology, in training programs, or in the skills of successive waves of immigrants (Kalbach, 1970). According to Kalbach, "the general concept of assimilation has limited value for an analysis of the occupational characteristics of Canada's immigrants (Kalbach, 1970, p. 283)." Thus, a variety of factors, such as those mentioned above, would have to be considered in assessing the economic integration of ethnic groups.

Three factors which are often referred to as basic determinants of occupational choice are ethnic values, language barriers and occupational discrimination. Both the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1970) and Porter (1965) suggested that ethnic values or loyalties may affect the movement of a group or individual through the class system. According to these sources, certain cultural factors, especially those that influence occupational choices, work habits, spending, saving and investment practices, may work to retard or advance certain groups in the economic structure. For example, if an ethnic group is closely knit, the cultural milieu may encourage a certain kind of occupational choice. In such a case, ethnic segregation becomes an important factor in the link between occupation and ethnicity. Some of

the other influencing cultural factors are attitudes towards education, relationship between economic behaviour and religious practices, attitudes to risk and attitudes to property ownership.

Thus, it seems that retention of certain cultural traits or factors may inhibit economic integration. Also, if these traits should be discarded by an individual to facilitate his movement in the class system, depending on the role these traits play in the life of the ethnic community, his occupation may encourage cultural assimilation, and over a period of time, perhaps even loss of the ethnic language.

The problem of language barriers probably pertains more to immigrants than to their Canadian-born descendents who usually are fluent in at least one of the official languages. Since fluency in an official language is almost certainly a basic prerequisite for economic integration and social mobility, language is quite influential in determining the economic position of the individual.

Occupational discrimination has been experienced to some degree by nearly every ethnic group in Canada (RCBB, IV, 1970). However, discrimination is difficult to document, and no systematic attempts have been made to study the discrimination in hiring practices in Canada.

While most of the studies available and those reviewed above have touched but lightly on the questions raised at the beginning of this section – namely, the relationship between linguistic and cultural assimilation and occupational integration – they are important to the establishment of the study's base on two grounds. In the first instance, they illustrate the dearth of knowledge in the area, and in the second, they provide at least some grounds for subsequent reference should the data so warrant. The Royal Commission's discussion of ethnic values does, however, bear some direct relevance to the issue. Clearly, more research is necessary in this area before we can arrive at any conclusions concerning the relationship between cultural and language assimilation or retention and occupational mobility, and part of the current study has been directed at providing a first data source.

EDUCATION One reason to believe that economic mobility is associated with cultural assimilation is that economic mobility frequently requires extensive education. The role of education as an assimilating influence is strongly supported by Borhek's study (1970). Of four variables examined, Borhek found that formal education alone was the most powerful predictor of assimilation and ingroup choice among his sample of Ukrainians in Alberta. It was among the more highly educated that the other variables (the effects of workplace, occupational status and residential site) were more important. Among the less educated respondents, the effects of these variables on assimilation and ingroup choice were much muted. On the basis of these findings, Borhek suggested a sequential model of ethnic cohesion in which education is the variable "which prepares a community for the other effects of social differentiation . . . a necessary precondition for the operation of other variables (Borhek, 1970, p. 44)."

In addition to the impact of formal education on linguistic and cultural maintenance, another concern for consideration is third language education in the public school systems. The role of education in linguistic and cultural retention with respect to non-English and non-French cultures, has been considered by very few psychologists, sociologists and educators. Until recently, the study of ethnic languages and cultures was deemed to be the responsibility of the ethnic communities, and was largely ignored in the public and secondary school curriculums. In addition to French and Latin, only German, Russian and Spanish were offered in certain secondary schools and mainly because they were considered to be world languages. Thus, they were usually taught as foreign, and not Canadian languages. Moreover, the books used in these courses

usually referred to only the European speakers of these languages. However, with the growing movement towards French-English bilingual education in English-speaking school systems, the other ethnic communities began to demand that their languages and cultures also be introduced into the school programs. Consequently, discussions arose as to the feasibility and desirability of such programs.

A positive stand on the teaching of languages in schools has been taken by Gaarder (1967). He favours the use of two languages as mediums of instruction in any portion of the curriculum as opposed to merely learning the language. Assuming that bilingual schools are beneficial and referring to previous literature, he gives the following as reasons for adding the **mother tongue** as a teaching medium:

- (a) to avoid or lessen scholastic retardation in children whose mother tongue is not the principal school language;
- (b) to strength the bonds between home and school;
- (c) to avoid the alienation from family and linguistic community that is commonly the price of rejection of one's mother tongue and of complete assimilation into the dominant linguistic group;
- (d) to develop strong literacy in the mother tongue in order to make it a strong asset in the adult's life.

(Gaarder, 1967, p. 110)

The above reasons are applicable not only to immigrant children, but also to Canadian-born children whose mother tongue is a non-official Canadian language.

His reasons for adding a **second language** as a teaching medium are:

- (a) to engage the child's capacity for natural unconscious language learning (Anderson, 1960; Penfield, 1956; and Stern, 1963, chapter 11);
- (b) to avoid the problems of **method**, **aptitude**, etc., which beset the usual teachings of second languages;
- (c) to make the second language a means to an end rather than an end in itself (Stern, Chapter 9);
- (d) to increase second language experience without crowding the curriculum.

(Gaarder, 1967, pp. 110-111)

In their report to the RCBB, Krukowski and McKellar (1966) provided a study of the existing situation with respect to the teaching of ethnic languages. They found that other language courses were of much poorer quality in comparison to French and English language courses and, therefore, were not as appealing to students. Whereas French was presented as a living language with the aid of newly developed techniques, the study of the other languages was usually a formal review of the grammar and reading and without the help of new teaching methods. Furthermore, course sequences in French and English were frequently longer and started earlier than those for other languages, thus providing the student with some continuity in the development of the language. Also, more emphasis was placed on both French and English in the elementary schools and greater attention was paid to them in the secondary schools, which made it very likely that the students would favour these two languages over others at the secondary level.

Krukowski and McKellar argued that ethnic schools were the formal and foremost means of transmitting appreciation for cultural heritage. The schools strongly emphasized the ethnic tongue as the transmitter of cultural ideas and values. According to

these authors, among the more successful groups in establishing ethnic schools were the Lithuanians, Latvians, Greeks, Ukrainians and Chinese.

Since Krukowski and McKellar did not assess the teaching methods of ethnic schools and their results, no conclusions should be made as to their effectiveness in language retention. However, some idea as to the attendance of these ethnic schools in Toronto can be arrived at from the results of a background questionnaire which was filled out by a sample of Toronto students (Ramsay, 1969). The sample consisted of 25% of grades 5, 7 and 9 in the Toronto system.

In comparing past and present attendances of language classes (Table 2.1), it is interesting to note that the greater drop in percentages occurred for the foreign-born group. A possible explanation for this is that the foreign-born, especially those who were of school age when they immigrated, had to learn English quickly in order to do well in school; the Canadian-born did not have this problem and could afford extra classes.

TABLE 2.1

Attendance at language classes outside the school:

	Past Attendance	Present Attendance
Canadian-born (N = 4234):	13.7%	7.9%
Foreign-born (N = 1475):	13.8%	6.6%
TOTAL:	13.7%	7.5%

In reference to the rather large drop in attendance for both groups, Ramsay and Wright provide no explanation for it. Although loss of interest or difficulty may be possible reasons, one should also consider the fact that perhaps for some of the groups, language classes were not available at a higher level. Since the sample included grade 9 students and some language schools only go up to grade 6 or 7, this may be a very possible explanation.

Table 2.2 reveals that, with a few minor exceptions, the same groups appear for both past and present attendance. The differences tend to occur between the Canadian-born and the foreign-born categories, and this is due to the fact that the rate of immigration for each group is different. This rank order of attended language classes is also quite similar to the rank order of ethnic groups according to ethnic tongue retention, which suggests a relationship between ethnic schools and ethnic tongue retention. Ramsay and Wright's survey of Toronto students has thus led to some interesting questions concerning the role of the ethnic school in linguistic retention.

TABLE 2.2

Five most attended language classes for both Canadian-born and foreign-born:

	Canadian-born	Foreign-born
Past Attendance:	1. Ukrainian	1. Greek
	2. Polish	2. Polish
	3. French	3. Italian
	3. German	4. Portuguese
	4. Chinese	5. Chinese
		5. German

Present Attendance:

- | | |
|---------------|----------------|
| 1. Ukrainian | 1. Greek |
| 2. German | 2. Polish |
| 3. Polish | 3. Ukrainian |
| 4. Yiddish | 4. Yugoslavian |
| 5. Lithuanian | 5. Chinese |

For example, can the ethnic school carry out its task in the retention of language through reliance only on its own resources? Is there a direct role for such schools in linguistic and cultural retention and how may this be linked to public education in general?

RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY The life of a group presupposes social interaction. Physical proximity facilitates social interaction. Thus, the degree to which ethnic group members are clustered in the same geographical area may have a decisive effect on language and culture retention. Two different approaches to this relationship are considered here: one examines the effects of ethnicity on residence, and the other examines the effects of residence on culture retention. The former treats place of residence as a dependent variable and the latter, as an independent one.

In his study of the patterns of residential mobility of Hungarians in Canada and in the United States, Kosa (1956) refers to two theories formulated by sociologists. According to one theory, ethnic clusters are explained by economic factors. An immigrant upon arrival tends to settle in a compact community, usually near the centre of the city and usually deteriorated. With improvement in his economic position, he moves out to a more desirable neighbourhood, leaving his place in the old colony to a new immigrant. "This wave theory was successfully applied to Canadian cities to explain the foreign islands of Montreal and the Jewish community of Winnipeg (Kosa, 1956, p. 358)."

According to the second theory, called the "theory of localized social solidarity", the immigrant moves to an area where there are others of his group and does not tend to move out, regardless of his economic position. He shows less residential mobility than the native-born, who tends to filter, according to his socio-economic success, into better residential districts. This theory was based on a study of an Italian settlement in the North End of Boston.

Using these two theories to interpret the residential mobility of Hungarians, Kosa made the following postulates:

The location of social solidarity in an ethnic area varies among ethnic groups and also within the same group. . . . Groups without visibility and cultural lag are able to follow the general filtering process of residential mobility provided their success in the new country permits them to do so. . . . Financially successful immigrants may form a second ethnic island characterized by higher socio-economic standards.

(Kosa, 1956, p. 369)

Although these postulates refer to Hungarians, Kosa suggests tests to decide whether they can also be applied to other ethnic groups.

In assessing the ethnic cohesiveness of Ukrainians in Alberta, Borhek (1970) examined the effects of residential site, among other variables, on two dependent variables: assimilationism and ingroup choice (defined as having Ukrainians as three closest friends). He found that living in an ethnically homogeneous area was associated with assimilationist attitudes, while living in an ethnically heterogeneous area was associated with having non-assimilationist attitudes. This relationship was most pronounced among respondents with high education. These results were contrary to the old theory of the "city as a melting pot", and to any previous literature on ethnic

communities. Borhek explained this finding by suggesting that ethnic identity becomes more important when the ethnic group in question is a minority group within a heterogeneous community and encounters prejudice of one form or another. In a homogeneous community, on the other hand, little or no anti-ethnic prejudice is encountered and ethnic identity is something of which one can make light. Borhek also compared his finding to an anthropological observation whereby "...the purest case of a culture type usually appears at some distance from the center of the culture area (Borhek, 1970, p. 42)."

With respect to ingroup choice, as expected, heterogeneity led to low ingroup choice. Homogeneity and heterogeneity of residential site seemed to have opposite effects on the two measures of group cohesion. Thus, residence in an ethnically heterogeneous area seems to inhibit cultural breakdown but facilitates structural breakdown.

These two studies, then, seem to indicate that residential segregation has no clear effect on demand for language and culture retention or ethnic identification. Other variables, such as ethnic values, group visibility and urban/rural differences seem to be influential factors in this reciprocal relationship.

Richmond's examination of residential patterns in Metropolitan Toronto (Richmond, 1972) using census data supports these findings to some degree. His analysis clearly shows that "no single factor can explain the patterns of ethnic residential concentration and dissimilarity." Factors such as birthplace, period of immigration, education, socio-economic status, English language fluency, religion and type of dwelling interact with each other. Of these, religion seems to be the most important factor associated with ethnic residential concentration. "Not only were there substantial differences in the residential distributions of householders by religion but, within the specific ethnic categories, there were significant differences by denomination and frequency of religious observance (Richmond, 1972, p. 48)." Even in the second and subsequent generations of Toronto householders when, according to the analysis, language has ceased to be an important basis of social differentiation, residential concentration still persists on a basis of religion and social class.

INSTITUTIONS AND INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS Another factor which has been found to have considerable influence on the integration of the ethnic group member is the social organization of the communities with which the individual member comes in contact.

According to Breton (1968), the three relevant communities of contact are: the community of the individual's ethnicity, the native-Canadian community and other ethnic communities. With these in mind, Breton postulated (1) that the integration of the individual will take place in any one of these communities or in two or three directions; (2) that the direction of the individual's integration will to a large extent result from the forces of attraction stemming from the various communities; and (3) that these forces are generated by the social organization of these communities.

His results from a survey of immigrants in Montreal more or less support his assumptions. With respect to the ethnic composition of interpersonal relations, his data revealed that nearly 60 percent of his sample had a majority of personal ties with members of their own group and only approximately 20 percent had a majority of ties with members of the native community. Although recent immigrants (up to 6 years of residence in Canada) tended to be segregated from the native community, after six years, ties with the native community began to show a substantial increase.

Breton's data also revealed a positive correlation between institutional completeness and ingroup relations. In other words, communities with the highest degree of institutional completeness had a much greater proportion of members with the most personal

relations within their own ethnic groups. Apparently, the existence of institutions in a group tends to have an observed effect on the cohesiveness of the ethnic group irrespective of its orientation toward the native or its own national culture.

With respect to individual participation, Breton found that the presence of churches in a community was related to more ingroup relations, even among those not attending an ethnic church. Also, the number of ethnic publications seemed to have affected the composition of interpersonal networks, but only among the non-readers. Among readers, the presence of one or several publications had a small influence on the proportion of their ingroup relations. Among the non-readers, however, several publications were related to more ingroup relations. Thus, the difference between the readers and non-readers of communities with only one publication was greater than the difference between the readers and non-readers of communities with several publications. A possible explanation for this is to assume that a community which has several churches and several publications must have a more highly developed organizational structure, and thus, is more likely to be able to cater to the various needs and interests of its members than a community with one church and one publication. Consequently, a greater rate of interaction within one's own community will yield more ingroup relations.

The results of the survey also indicated four main ways in which institutions affect interpersonal relations. One way is through substitution – that is, ethnic institutions fulfill the needs and interests of the ethnic community instead of native institutions. Secondly, the personal networks of the participants formed in the institutions usually extend within the community. Thirdly, because organizations and associations also raise new issues or activate old ones for public debate, such activity often results in a greater cohesiveness of the community. And fourthly, the leaders of the organizations usually actively attempt to maintain or enlarge the membership of the organization. Thus, the degree to which institutions within an ethnic community can bring to effect each of these ways will determine the degree to which the inter-personal relations of the group members will be affected.

Of all the types of ethnic institutions investigated in the study, Breton found religious institutions and publications to have the greatest effect on the immigrant's personal networks. The former had great effect because it was usually the centre of activities in the community the experiences in church were similar to those of the country of origin (this may no longer be applicable because of the recent changes in the church which tend to be more radical in North America than in Europe); and the religious leaders were frequently advocates of national ideology. The publications were found to be effective because they promoted national ideology and they interpreted many events occurring in the country of adoption in terms of survival of interests of the ethnic community.

Because Breton's survey dealt only with immigrants and not with the Canadian-born members of the groups, generalizations of the findings to the Canadian-born should be made cautiously. Also, because the survey combined all groups together, the conclusions may be more applicable to larger immigrant groups (such as Germans, Italians) than to smaller immigrant groups (such as Latvians).

The importance of institutions in ethnic group maintenance has also been pointed to by Millett (1971). On the basis of theoretical investigations, he proposed (1) that once the language and church is shared with people of other national origins, the ethnic identity becomes of less importance; and (2) that the identification of the language and the church provides a core around which ethnic organizations can cluster. As an example for the first, he cites the Germans and their churches, and for the second, he cites the Ukrainians, whose churches are seen as precious reservoirs of Ukrainian culture.

Another study which should be considered at this point is one conducted by Ossens-

burg (1964) on the processes of assimilation of post-World War II immigrants in Toronto and in Montreal. Four of the six areas he investigated dealt with interpersonal relations and institutions.

His results were contrary to his hypothesis that Montreal immigrants would be less assimilated than Toronto immigrants where the environment is seemingly more conducive to assimilation. He found that Toronto immigrants have stronger familial systems than Montreal immigrants. Whereas a more firmly structured and extended type of family seemed to be characteristic of Toronto immigrants, Montreal immigrants tended to be single, separated, or members of nuclear families. With respect to the interaction patterns with relatives, the degree of involvement was inversely related to income and educational status in both cities. However, the income and educational levels in Montreal were not so highly correlated as in Toronto, since high and low income and educational groups were not consistently different in familial relationships in Montreal. Also, there was a greater rate of intermarriage with the Canadian-born in Montreal, although this result was not significant statistically. It is unclear here whether, by the term "Canadian-born", Ossenburg was referring to individuals **outside** the ethnic group, or **of** the ethnic group but born in Canada. Depending on the meaning, different interpretations can be made.

Montreal again had a greater proportion of immigrants interacting with Canadian-born friends (again not defined), although these results also were not significant statistically. As before, interaction with Canadian-born was highly correlated with the income and educational levels in Toronto and evenly divided between the two SES groups in Montreal.

Toronto immigrants showed heavier reliance on the ethnic press, either exclusively or in combination with the Canadian press, than in Montreal. Apparently, Montreal immigrants seem to rely on more formal means of continuing ethnic contacts.

In summary, then, all studies reviewed are of a consensus that familial, social, organizational and religious institutions play an important role in the cohesiveness of a group, although the extent of the influence of each type of institution may vary for different groups and for different generations within the group.

INTERMARRIAGE According to the Royal Commission (RCBB, IV, 1970), family relationships and endogamy are the basic institutions of culture for many immigrant groups. However, their transplantation to Canada often causes them to disappear since the conditions necessary for their perpetuation often do not exist here. Nevertheless, the Commission's research indicated that the degree of endogamy is still a good indicator of the extent to which the members of a group feel bound by cultural heritage and social background.

This relationship between endogamy and ethnic identification was also examined by Kalbach (1970). Using the Census data of 1961, Kalbach rank-ordered the ethnic groups in Canada where the husband and wife were of the same ethnic origin, by nativity and period of immigration of the foreign-born. The ordering showed that, in general, the Jewish, French, British and Asiatic groups had constant low rates of intermarriage or, in other words, high indices of ethnic identification. For the other groups, the rate of intermarriage depended on nativity and the period of immigration of the foreign-born. With the exception of the Russian, French, Ukrainian, Jewish and Asiatic groups, most showed evidence of increasing ethnic mixing as the length of residence increased for foreign-born and among native-born relative to either foreign-born group of immigrants.

Kalbach, however, questions the general applicability of this index of assimilation because in considering further variables, such as place of residence (urban/rural), the

geographical distributions of ethnic groups and the size of each group among its native-born, the rates of ethnic intermarriage for the different groups may change.

For example, those groups which tend to locate predominantly in large metropolitan areas tend to have higher proportions of intra-ethnic marriages among their native-born in metropolitan populations than in non-metropolitan rural populations. This is true for the Italian, Asiatic and Jewish groups. For those whose earlier arrivals tended to settle in rural areas, such as the German, Netherlands, Scandinavian, Hungarian, Ukrainian and Russian, the proportions of native-born heads with wives of similar origin tend to be higher in the non-metropolitan rural areas than in metropolitan areas. This is also true for the Polish but to a much lesser degree.

(Kalbach, 1970, p. 334)

He suggests a more complex index of propensity toward endogamy, as well as more caution in the interpretation of census and vital statistics data than has generally been exercised in the past.

Barron (1970), in his study of interethnic marriage in the United States, is also reluctant to form any generalizations about the incidence and trends of intermarriage, either among all groups combined or about one specific group. He lists four main factors as either undermining or strengthening intermarriage: attitudes towards intermarriage; demographic factors, such as the sex ratio and the numerical size of groups; points of social contact and degree of cultural similarity between different groups; and the peremptory, which includes the clerical and parental factors. Because they are interdependent in that they all either reinforce or counteract the influence of a given single factor, Barron feels that no generalizations are possible about the incidence and selections in a given group's intermarriage.

The conclusion derived from these studies suggests that if intermarriage is to be used as an index of assimilation, then the effects of cultural and demographic factors should also be considered — otherwise, the patterns derived could be misleading. To our knowledge, this area of ethnic research has been virtually unexplored to date. Furthermore, no study as yet has examined the relationship between intermarriage and language retention or less. Essentially, however, the current research will not be immediately concerned with marriage factors. Nevertheless, the data have been collected and will be amenable to research in the area. In effect, they illustrate the data bank potential of our information since their availability should provide the basis for quite detailed work in the area of marriage factors among ethnic groups in Canada.

ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS Participation in ethnic organizations has been regarded as an important means by which ethnic language and culture is maintained. In fact, the Royal Commission's research (RCBB, IV, 1970) reported a positive correlation between a sense of ethnic identity and participation in ethnic associations. Of course, cause and effect must be carefully distinguished here as in many other aspects of language and culture retention.

Historically, ethnic organizations in Canada have been established to serve many different purposes. The earliest immigrants needed organizations to help provide for their immediate social and welfare needs. Cultural aspects were of little interest to these immigrants because many of them did not plan to remain in Canada permanently, and because of lack of education and of leisure time.

Because of the educational and cultural differences between the postwar immigrants and the earlier arrivals, many of the newcomers were not content with the existing ethnic organizations. This was especially true for the Hungarian, Ukrainian and Polish immigrants who came from countries which had fallen into Communist hands. These

people were very politically conscious and tended to set up nationalistic organizations. "New publications propagated the ideologies, and appealed for funds to support the various 'liberation' movements (Woycenko, 1967, p. 15)." Because of the co-existence of different kinds of organizations within each of these ethnic groups, they soon developed complex organizational structures, including scholarly and professional organizations. It was during this postwar immigration phase that the Ukrainian organizational structure developed. Until the war, only church and secular organizations existed in the Ukrainian community. With the influx of intellectuals after the war, Ukrainian learned societies and research institutions were formed. Thus, the scholarly sector of the Ukrainian community came into being (Woycenko, 1967). Similarly, in the Polish and Hungarian communities, the arrival of intellectuals and professionals resulted in the formation of scholarly institutions and professional societies.

Immigrants from other European countries (Germany, Holland and Scandinavia) were not as politically inclined because the conditions in their homelands were different. Consequently, the organizations they set up tended not to be political but dealt mainly with cultural or social matters. The Germans, especially, developed a complex organizational structure after the War and showed considerable interest in maintaining their ethnic tongue and culture.

The organized life of the Chinese communities also underwent some changes with the arrival of postwar immigrants. In addition to the Chinese aid societies which had been set up before the War, business and professional societies now came into existence because of the influx of highly skilled and educated Chinese and the maturation of a more highly educated Canadian-born generation. Because many of the new immigrants were not too interested in purely ethnic associations, many of the new clubs and societies tended to be more involved in Canadian affairs. However, the different interests of the newcomers did not preclude the existence of the older associations; they existed alongside the new ones (Canadian Citizenship Branch, 1967). Moreover, despite the quick integration of these new immigrants, intermarriage with non-Orientals did not increase much and certain cultural customs were still preserved by the families because of the Chinese close-knit family system (Palmer, 1972).

Immigrants from southern Europe (Italy, Greece and Portugal) differed slightly from other postwar immigrants. Although they were better skilled and educated than their predecessors had been, still their educational level tended to be lower than that of the other postwar immigrants. Also, their respective communities in Canada until 1950 were less numerous in comparison to others and were not as highly organized. Thus, with respect to organizational and social structures, these postwar immigrants were on a level comparable to that at which the Ukrainian and Polish immigrants were in 1920.

Of the three groups, the Greeks had been the most organized, and with the influx of Greek immigrants in the early 50's, they quickly developed their organizational structure. Today, Greek activities tend to centre around Greek Orthodox Churches, but there are some non-Church related Greek organizations in the larger cities. The aim of their organizations and institutions has been very clear — to preserve the Greek religion, language, and culture (Canadian Citizenship Branch, 1967).

The Italian postwar immigrants, on the other hand, were not as inclined to set up cultural organizations. For financial help and protection they could always rely on the old mutual aid societies, and for companionship and recreation the family and the parish were sufficient. Those that were set up, however, tended to be oriented towards Canada and Canadian ways of doing things rather than to Italian ways (Canadian Citizenship Branch, 1967).

Because of the recency of their settlement in Canada, the Portuguese are just beginning to develop an organizational structure. As yet, they have set up only mutual

aid societies to help themselves adjust to Canada (Globe & Mail, August 27, 1971).

From this historical overview, certain speculations can be made concerning the role of ethnic organizations in language and culture retention:

(1) Membership in ethnic organizations may not necessarily imply interest in language retention, although it presumably involves a sense of ethnic identity, as well as an interest in some or all aspects of culture retention. For example, the Dutch and Scandinavians seem to have little interest in maintaining their ethnic tongues in comparison to the Poles or Ukrainians, although they do have a network of ethnic clubs. For them, membership is a cultural or social matter. Also, many of the organizations set up by Chinese and Italians are not oriented towards their respective communities' affairs. These societies are "ethnic" in one sense, in that their membership is predominantly from one group, but their purpose is not language retention.

(2) Political situations in the ancestral lands seem to have considerable influence on the strength and survival of ethnic organizations in Canada. For example, East and Central European groups (Poles, Ukrainians and Hungarians) whose ancestral lands are under foreign domination, tend to be the best organized among other groups in Canada, and tend to have the highest interest in language and culture retention.

THE SURVEY These are, clearly, speculations based on an historical overview. Field research is necessary in this area if any definite relationships are to be drawn between participation in ethnic organizations and language and culture retention.

To this end and bearing in mind the fact that the question of language maintenance is one of the areas of ethnic life in Canada about which the least is known, the present study has been designed to concentrate primarily on a multi-level investigation of the knowledge, use and support for retention of the non-official languages (those languages other than English and French) among members of ten ethnic groups in five Canadian cities. It has centered around the examination of interview responses to a series of general and specific research questions rather than on the testing of formal hypotheses, although the data that have been obtained are clearly amenable to such hypothesis formulation and investigation.

While it is clearly not possible in the following pages to present and discuss such data on every possible cross-tabulation for every variable, key findings will be tabulated and described. The entire data have been stored in coded form on tape and are amenable to standard data-reduction and analysis techniques. As such, they are intended to be a resource and base for future examinations of Canadian multiculturalism. Furthermore, their purpose is to satisfy the study's primary objective: that of providing to policy makers and to social scientists recent Canadian data on the major questions which follow.

What is the distribution of non-English and non-French populations in five major Canadian urban centres and how does this distribution affect stated views on issues relating to multiculturalism? In effect, this question concerns the level of differences that may be found in city-by-city comparisons across the full sample and between groups represented in statistically sufficient numbers in each of the cities sampled.

What is the present level of retention of the non-official language among the ethnic group studied? Is this consistent over all groups or does it vary? If so, how and why? What is the relationship of generational differences to knowledge of language?

What are the parameters of the use of the non-official languages? For example, what is the frequency of use, what is its context and how is this usage related to such variables as the ethnic press, other media and ethnic organizations?

What is the current "absolute" level of support for ethnic language retention? How is this proportioned and how much of a degree of polarization is present?

Where is the location of support for, and rejection of, the principle of ethnic language retention? Are the findings specific to a given group or groups or are they common to all? Are there regional differences and do these vary according to distribution of groups?

What is the relationship of knowledge of the language to the levels of support for retention? How is this related to generational differences in determining the parameters of support?

What is the nature of self-identification of the ethnic groups studied? How is such self-identification involved in ethnic language questions? How do other variables such as years of education, neighbourhood structure and income level affect the question of language retention?

What problems are perceived by the groups in the retention of multicultural viability, and how are these related to expressed support for language retention?

What are the primary reasons provided by the ethnic groups for support or rejection of language retention? How does such support relate to the various ethnic agencies and organizations?

What are the primary correlates of knowledge and use of and support for the non-official languages of Canada? What are the prediction capabilities of these correlates and how do they and expressed support itself, relate to views on the importance of the various mechanisms of language retention now sought or currently in use?

Data on all these questions are presented in Chapter IV. Not surprisingly, clear-cut answers to all of them have not been found, but a great many trends and patterns are described in the chapter and are illustrated in the accompanying tables. The more interesting and salient features of the results are reviewed and discussed in Chapter V. To provide these data, a very comprehensive survey of ethnic groups in Canada was undertaken. A description of the details of the survey follows.

The present chapter describes the design of the metropolitan Canadian ethnic group sample drawn for this study, and also describes the construction and execution of the interviews. The sample design is based upon a detailed analysis of the distribution of ethnic groups in Canada. This design will be described fully, in part because it underscores the fact that the “other” ethnic groups in Canada’s major cities are already rather widely dispersed residentially. Thus a review of the sample design will help develop part of the substantive background for the analysis to follow. To this same end, the generational, age, and sex characteristics of the sample also will be described here. The interviews themselves probed many sensitive and elusive topics, and this raises questions of a very different sort which also will be discussed.

The metropolitan ethnic group survey was designed to provide data not only for the present report, but also for future academic and policy researchers. That is, the research has been designed to contribute to the development of a data bank on Canadian ethnic groups. The sample and interview schedule both were planned to make possible the study of topics now identified as requiring study, even though many of these topics could not be covered in this first report. Moreover, it should be possible to extend the data set to produce a nationally representative sample of all Canadian ethnic groups, not just of the particular groups in the particular cities selected for inclusion.

THE SAMPLE

A. Choice of Cities The definition of ethnicity adopted for the purpose of sampling is identical to that used for the Canadian census. Ethnic origin is determined on the basis of the country of birth of the nearest ancestor on the male side born outside North America. The use of the census definition simplifies the comparison of our data with census data, although the bias toward emphasis on male ancestry in both data sets is not without disadvantage.

The study focused on large Canadian cities in which there are substantial concentrations of persons having non-English, non-French ethnic background. The selection of particular cities for inclusion in the study was influenced not only by the size of the city and its ethnic concentration, but also by a desire to include cities in as many provinces as possible, and to include at least one city in which the dominant language was French rather than English. The population distribution in large cities across Canada is indicated in Table 3.1. In Ontario, for example, the logical choice is **Toronto**. In British Columbia, **Vancouver** is a major urban centre with substantial ethnic minorities. **Edmonton** and **Winnipeg** were chosen rather than Hamilton or Ottawa, not only to increase provincial representation, but also because the concentration of persons from non-English and non-French backgrounds is somewhat greater in those western cities. **Montreal** was needed to represent the French-Canadian setting, despite the low concentration of non-English and non-French persons. The five selected cities alone contain about 43 percent of the 5.8 million Canadians whose ethnic origin is neither French nor English.

TABLE 3.1 Percentage non-English and non-French, by province, and by city for cities over 100,000 (asterisked cities were chosen for inclusion in this study)

Province and City	Percent of Non-English and Non-French Ethnic Origin	Total Population
Newfoundland	3.3	522,100
St. John's	3.1	132,005
Prince Edward Island	3.6	111,640
Nova Scotia	12.4	788,960
Halifax	13.8	222,650
New Brunswick	5.3	634,555
St. John	7.1	106,695
Quebec	10.4	6,027,765
*Montreal	19.8	2,743,235
Quebec City	2.3	480,410
Ontario	31.0	7,703,105
*Toronto	39.6	2,628,125
Ottawa	15.5	602,560
Hamilton	34.3	498,505
Windsor	31.5	258,655
London	23.9	286,270
Kitchener	44.3	226,800
Sudbury	26.0	155,460
Manitoba	49.3	988,250
*Winnipeg	48.5	540,265
Saskatchewan	51.8	926,245
Regina	49.1	140,675
Saskatoon	48.9	126,565
Alberta	47.4	1,627,875
*Edmonton	48.1	495,915
Calgary	39.9	403,325
British Columbia	37.7	2,184,620
*Vancouver	37.5	1,082,350
Victoria	22.0	195,850
Canada	26.7	21,568,310

Source: 1971 Census

B. Sampling Objectives The sample was designed with two major study goals in mind: description of the non-English and non-French populations in the five major Canadian urban centres, and analysis of differences both within and between ethnic groups and cities. That is, the sample was designed to be representative of the non-official language groups in each city, and also to contain sufficient numbers of respondents in every city and in every group, and in some city-groups to permit detailed analysis. Both goals were achieved, but the sample design is extremely complex. An outline of the sample design and the resulting sample are given here partly because it tells some interesting facts about the ethnic groups themselves. Additional details about the sample, as well as a description of the procedure by which the weighting scheme was produced, are given in Appendices A, B, and C.

No sampling frame for non-English, non-French residents of the five cities was available. That means that a representative sample could be produced only by a systematic screening process. It was necessary to design a sample in which all residents of the five cities were eligible for inclusion, to conduct preliminary interviews with that sample to determine their eligibility for inclusion in the study, and then to administer the main interview schedule only to eligible sample members. The need for a screening process greatly affected the costs of the study. It was estimated that, given the distribution of ethnic group members across the five cities, only about one in ten respondents sampled would be eligible for inclusion. Available resources dictated that about 25,000 individuals could be screened, and of these about 2,500 would be included in the final sample.

The number of ethnic groups which could be included was limited because of our desire to carry out group-by-group analyses. To produce a sufficiently large sample of the smaller groups would require a prohibitively large screening operation. Only the ten largest ethnic groups in Canada (other than British and French) over the five selected cities are given in Table 3.2.*

In the ten groups taken together, 41.2 percent are located in the five major cities. It can be seen that the groups differ substantially in the proportions located in the five cities. The Greeks, Portuguese, Chinese and Italians are highly urbanized, with over 65 percent of their numbers in the five cities. The Hungarians, Dutch, Germans and Scandinavians are least urbanized, with less than 35 percent of their numbers located in the five cities. The Ukrainians and Poles are only slightly more urbanized.

In a sample of approximately 2,500 persons, 500 interviews could be carried out in each of the five cities, and 250 in each of the 10 groups. In order to permit comparisons between groups within cities, and comparisons between cities for particular groups, group-by-city sample size targets were established. It was decided to try to obtain sufficiently large samples for three groups in each city, and in two cities for each group. It was hoped that the sample for each city could contain at least three ethnic groups represented by about 100 respondents, and that each ethnic group should be represented by about 100 respondents in at least two cities. The specific criteria established on this basis are displayed in Table 3.3. The specific selections reflect actual population distributions as reported in the census. For example, the heaviest concentrations of Italians are in Toronto and Montreal. In Winnipeg, the largest ethnic groups are the Ukrainians, Germans and Poles. The consequence of this distribution is that some cities had to have samples larger than 500, as was the case for Toronto, and that, for some ethnic groups, the criteria could not be met. This was the case for the Hungarians and the Chinese. A careful projection of the likely sample taken under

* It might have been possible to consider Jews as an ethnic-language group for the purposes of this study, but this was not done.

TABLE 3.2 Number of persons of various ethnic origins, by city, and for all Canada

Ethnic Group						Percent of All Persons of Ethnic Origin in Five Cities	Total Canada
	Mtl.	Tor.	Wpg.	Edm.	Van.		
Chinese	10,655	26,285	2,535	5,110	36,405	68.2	118,815
Dutch	9,045	44,425	15,020	16,775	31,960	27.5	425,945
German	38,440	116,640	61,995	62,440	89,675	29.2	1,317,200
Greek	41,900	51,515	1,525	1,210	4,790	81.1	124,475
Hungarian	11,480	23,350	3,860	3,230	8,210	22.1	131,890
Italian	160,600	271,750	9,400	9,015	30,045	65.8	730,820
Polish	20,410	51,180	25,915	16,945	14,985	40.9	316,425
Portuguese	14,160	43,675	3,375	1,530	4,770	69.7	96,875
Scandinavian	6,360	18,360	17,530	23,280	51,870	32.9	356,885
Ukrainian	18,045	60,750	64,305	62,650	31,125	40.8	580,660
Total	313,050	707,930	205,460	202,185	303,835	41.2	4,201,990

Source: 1971 Census

TABLE 3.3 Sample constraints: desired distribution over ethnic groups and cities*

Ethnic Group	City					Total
	Montreal	Toronto	Winnipeg	Edmonton	Vancouver	
Chinese		100			100	250
Dutch				100	100	250
German			100	100		250
Greek	100	100				250
Hungarian	100	100				250
Italian	100	100				250
Polish			100	100		250
Portuguese	100	100				250
Scandinavian			100		100	250
Ukrainian			100	100		250
Total	500	500	500	500	500	2,500

*Row and column totals are overall sample objectives, not sums.

optimal conditions showed that it would not be possible to meet many of the other criteria. This projection is described in Appendix B, and the expected group-by-city sample shown in Table B.3.

C. Sample Stratification Prior to sampling, census tracts in each city were stratified according to their ethnic concentrations, based on mother tongue data.* Ten “ethnic strata”, and one “residual stratum” were attempted in each city, although in some cities, certain ethnic strata were so small they were not retained. Each ethnic stratum contained census tracts with the heaviest concentration of persons with a particular mother tongue. The residual strata contained all remaining census tracts in which no mother tongue group was prominently represented. Sampling took place in each of the strata, so the samples are city-wide.

The stratification was done partly to reduce sampling errors, and partly in the expectation that the efficiency of the screening could be increased by sampling more heavily in areas of heavy ethnic concentration. The first of these two purposes was well served by the stratification procedure. The second purpose turned out to be unnecessary. The geographical distribution of mother tongue groups within cities is surprisingly uniform in most cases. This can be seen in Tables A.1 - A.6 (Appendix A). Even in census tracts with the heaviest concentrations of persons with particular mother tongues, the concentrations are still rather low. The ethnic group which is most segregated on a residential basis is the Italian group in Toronto. In the Toronto Italian stratum, 36.7 percent of the residents are of Italian mother tongues. The figure for Italian stratum in Montreal is 23.7 percent. The Chinese stratum in Vancouver is 16.8 percent, but the Chinese stratum in Toronto is only 6.0 percent. In Winnipeg, the German stratum is 21.9 percent, and the Ukrainian-Polish stratum in Winnipeg is 19.5 percent Ukrainian or Polish.

These cases are very much exceptions to the rule. Generally, less than 10 percent of each ethnic stratum consists of individuals with the designated mother tongue. An idea of the gains which might have been realized from disproportionate sampling by strata can be gathered by examining Table 3.4. The concentrations of mother tongue group members in the ethnic strata are of course higher than the concentrations in the five cities as a whole. Moreover, when the members of all ten groups in each strata are included, the concentrations are higher still. However, the fact remains that only very extreme sampling disproportions among strata would produce any significant improvement in screening efficiency. Such extreme sampling disproportions would entail a large increase in sampling error. Therefore, in each city the sampling ratios in most sample strata were identical.

The apparent lack of ethnic residential segregation in these five Canadian cities is not an artifact of the liberal criteria used for inclusion of census tracts in ethnic strata. As a matter of fact, in most cases the vast majority of ethnic group members reside **outside** their own ethnic stratum. This is shown in Table 3.5. For instance, 88 percent of the German residents of the five metropolitan areas reside outside the German stratum. Even for Italians, the most residentially segregated group, 51 percent reside outside the Italian stratum. It should also be pointed out that since these data are based on mother tongue rather than ethnic origin, the actual degree of ethnic group concentration is not really as indicated in Tables 3.4 and 3.5, particularly for groups in which there are relatively small proportions who are immigrants, such as the Ukrainians, Scandinavians, Germans and Poles. However, since it is usually expected that immigrants are even more residentially segregated than ethnic-group members born in Canada, the

* The stratification was based on data on mother tongue in the 1971 census. Data on ethnic origin were not available from the 1971 census at the time the sampling was being carried out. The use of mother tongue data rather than ethnic origin data in the construction of the sample strata does not introduce any bias. If the sampling within strata (however constructed) is unbiased, the overall sample is unbiased.

TABLE 3.4 Concentration* of mother-tongue groups in sample strata and in total population

Mother Tongue Group	Concentration in Five Cities	Concentration in Strata	Concentration of All Ten Mother Tongue Groups in Strata
Chinese	0.9	7.7	23.4
Dutch	0.6	2.2	12.4
German	2.6	5.3	11.1
Greek	1.2	13.1	29.8
Hungarian	0.6	2.7	19.4
Italian	5.1	23.7	30.7
Polish	0.9	3.7	18.6
Portuguese	0.2	11.0	34.8
Scandinavian	0.4	1.8	20.6
Ukrainian	1.7	3.5	22.6

*Concentration expressed as a percentage of the relevant population.

TABLE 3.5 Percent of mother tongue group falling outside its appropriate stratum, five metropolitan areas combined

Group	Percent Outside Ethnic Stratum	Group	Percent Outside Ethnic Stratum
Chinese	69	Italian	51
Dutch	75	Polish*	66
German	88	Portuguese	43
Greek	61	Scandinavian	97
Hungarian	84	Ukrainian*	81

*In Montreal, Winnipeg and Edmonton, Poles and Ukrainians are considered to reside in their own ethnic stratum if they reside in the Polish-Ukrainian stratum.

actual degree of residential segregation for the total ethnic-group population is, if anything, less than indicated by the data here.

D. Double Sampling The desired group-by-city sample distribution was achieved by means of a procedure known as double sampling. Double sampling, or two-phase sampling, refers to a procedure in which a sample is drawn, preliminary measurements are made, respondents are classified into categories, and then a sub-sample is drawn from each category for more detailed measurement. In this case, respondents of the

E. Sampling Results The resulting sample distribution by group and by city is displayed in Table 3.6. Our attempt to produce a prespecified distribution was moderately successful. Large samples of Dutch, Germans, Italians, Poles, Scandinavians and Ukrainians were produced. In each of these six groups, the sample size exceeded 250. Samples larger than 100 of ethnic communities in particular cities were obtained for Italians in Montreal; Greeks and Italians in Toronto; Germans, Poles and Ukrainians in Winnipeg; Dutch in Edmonton; and Scandinavians in Vancouver. Some under-sampling of Chinese, Greeks, Hungarians and Portuguese occurred. None of the

TABLE 3.6 Sample distribution, by ethnic group and city

Ethnic Group	Montreal	Toronto	Winnipeg	Edmonton	Vancouver	Total
Chinese	8	28	20	18	77	151
Dutch	14	51	19	102	76	262
German	48	72	134	56	36	346
Greek	42	102	9	4	15	172
Hungarian	23	52	24	18	20	137
Italian	176	136	4	7	32	355
Polish	31	28	102	78	39	278
Portuguese	12	63	18	4	14	111
Scandinavian	5	35	65	18	160	283
Ukrainian	21	54	135	87	41	338
Total	380	621	530	392	510	2,433

first phase of sampling were screened for eligibility, and then classified into the appropriate ethnic group category for each city. Lists of eligible respondents in each city and group thus comprised the sampling frame for a second phase of sampling. Group-specific and city-specific sampling ratios for the second phase of sampling were required in order to meet the group-by-city sample size requirements. Any single-phase sampling procedure would have made the group-by-city sample distributions a linear function of the strata distributions. As we have indicated, no such linear function is capable of producing the required group-by-city distribution exactly.

The first phase sample was a cluster sample. In the first phase, census-enumeration areas were selected, and a sample of households within selected enumeration areas was drawn. The goal of this first phase was to produce a widely distributed sample of enumeration areas from which sub-samples of about 35-40 households per enumeration area would be drawn. The number of enumeration areas chosen in each stratum was governed by the stratum sampling ratios. At this point interviewers were sent into the field with brief interview schedules (see Appendix E) designed to determine which residents in each household were eligible for the second phase of sampling.

A second phase of sampling was necessary to produce approximately the desired distribution of respondents by ethnic group and by city. Finally, one person 18 years of age or older in each second-phase sample household was selected at random for interviewing. A detailed description of the sampling parameters is given in Appendix B.

samples in these groups exceeded 172; for the Chinese, Hungarians and Portuguese, none of the samples in specific cities exceeded 77.

It should be stressed that the over-sampling and under-sampling arises in part from errors in the sample expectations, and to this extent does not indicate biased sampling. It should also be remembered that since sampling error varies with the square root of the sample size, the relatively small size of some of the ethnic group samples within cities is not necessarily a critical problem.

The first phase of sampling yielded 24,575 households. Among these, 20,760 screening interviews were completed. The first-phase interview completion rate was therefore 84.5 percent. The screening yielded 3,228 eligible respondents. Among these, 2,433 intensive interviews were completed. The second-phase interview completion rate was therefore 75.4 percent. Combining these two completion rates yields an overall completion rate of 63.7 percent. The second-phase completion rates varied somewhat among ethnic groups, ranging from a high of 80.0 percent for the Germans to a low of 68.9 percent for the Chinese. Meaningful analysis of possible biases introduced by the 75.4 percent second-phase completion rate could not be carried out because too little information was obtained from the first-phase interview.

F. Population Estimates Estimates of characteristics of the population of ten ethnic groups in five cities can be produced using a weighting scheme. The weighting scheme is described in Appendix C. It is designed to produce estimates for the sample universe, and takes account of interview completion rates as well as of differential sampling probabilities. Table 3.7 shows the relation between the weighted and unweighted ethnic group marginals. The average weighting factor is 552.2.

TABLE 3.7 Weighted and unweighted ethnic group marginals, and average weighting factor

Ethnic Group	Unweighted N	Weighted N	Average Weighting Factor
Chinese	151	57,636	381.7
Dutch	262	76,638	292.5
German	346	303,867	878.2
Greek	172	88,642	515.4
Hungarian	137	34,866	254.5
Italian	355	382,499	1077.5
Polish	278	91,066	327.6
Portuguese	111	57,365	327.6
Scandinavian	283	69,353	245.1
Ukrainian	338	181,656	537.4
Total	2,433	1,343,595*	552.2

*Weighted N will vary from table to table because it is a sum of rounded figures.

TABLE 3.8 1971 census distribution of ten ethnic groups over five cities, among those 18 years of age and older

Ethnic Group	Montreal	Toronto	Winnipeg	Edmonton	Vancouver	Total
Chinese	6,900	17,550	1,790	3,320	23,530	53,090
Dutch	5,875	27,600	9,310	9,890	19,675	72,350
German	27,280	81,150	41,630	40,160	60,280	250,500
Greek	27,075	33,725	970	735	3,120	65,625
Hungarian	8,335	16,880	2,570	2,045	5,780	35,610
Italian	103,030	166,025	5,810	5,435	19,170	299,470
Polish	15,105	37,585	18,860	11,460	10,820	93,830
Portuguese	8,805	26,990	2,110	895	3,010	41,810
Scandinavian	4,380	12,940	12,620	15,400	37,625	82,965
Ukrainian	13,620	44,930	46,710	42,140	22,480	169,880
Total	220,415	465,370	142,380	131,470	205,495	1,165,130

Source: 1971 Census, Special Tabulation

TABLE 3.9 Estimated 1973 distribution of ten ethnic groups over five cities, among those 18 years of age and older*

Ethnic Group	Montreal	Toronto	Winnipeg	Edmonton	Vancouver	Total
Chinese	3,455	19,377	2,126	5,827	26,850	57,636
Dutch	4,173	37,586	9,317	9,828	15,734	76,638
German	19,348	119,729	53,382	32,175	79,243	303,867
Greek	25,826	56,371	1,009	731	4,703	88,642
Hungarian	9,627	18,267	2,201	1,654	3,116	34,866
Italian	137,078	207,690	2,516	3,902	31,313	382,499
Polish	18,759	31,426	17,873	9,253	13,755	91,066
Portuguese	7,992	41,039	2,171	1,271	4,891	57,365
Scandinavian	1,224	15,890	9,656	10,296	32,287	69,353
Ukrainian	9,569	46,741	58,349	45,163	21,834	181,656
Total	237,054	594,116	158,600	120,101	233,726	1,343,595

*Columns and rows may not sum to the indicated totals, because each entry in the table is an estimate which has been rounded.

One way to estimate the accuracy of estimates based on the weighted sample is to compare the weighted sample distributions with distributions as reported in the 1971 census enumeration. In Table 3.8, the number of ethnic group members in each of the

TABLE 3.10 Discrepancies between estimated 1973 distribution and 1971 census distribution of ethnic groups, by group and by city (expressed as a percent that 1973 estimate exceeds 1971 census)

City	Percent	Ethnic Group	Percent
Montreal	7.5	Chinese	8.6
Toronto	27.7	Dutch	5.9
Winnipeg	11.4	German	21.3
Edmonton	-8.6	Greek	35.1
Vancouver	13.7	Hungarian	-2.1
		Italian	27.7
		Polish	-2.9
		Portuguese	37.2
		Scandinavian	-16.4
		Ukrainian	6.9
Total	15.3	Total	15.3

ten ethnic groups in each of the five cities, 18 years of age and older, is given. (Table 3.8 is like Table 3.2, except that those under 18 years of age have been removed). Estimates of this population based on the weighted sample is given in Table 3.9.

Many of the sample estimates are quite close to the census figures, but there are a number of significant discrepancies. Table 3.10 shows the discrepancies for city totals and ethnic group totals. Overall, the estimates based on the 1973 sample exceeds the 1971 census totals by 15.3 percent. In part, this excess might be attributable to continued immigration between 1971 and 1973. If in fact this is an important reason for the difference, then one would expect the greatest difference in groups for which the most recent immigration has occurred. This is indeed the case — the greatest differences are for Greeks, Portuguese and Italians. Another possible reason for discrepancies between the 1971 census data and the 1973 sample is of course error in the census enumeration itself.

The main sampling-error possibility is under-sampling among second and third generation ethnic group members. Such under-sampling is almost inevitable in a study of this kind in which the respondent's participation is contingent upon his acknowledgement of his own ethnic background. For immigrants whose mother tongue is neither English nor French, denial of ethnic background is extremely difficult. At the same time, some children and grandchildren of immigrants may be motivated to deny their ethnic ancestry, either to hide it or because they simply do not want to be bothered answering questions related to it. For such persons, denial of ethnic background may be very easy.

This possible sample bias does not seriously reduce the value or validity of our findings, however, for two reasons. First, we in fact were able to locate and interview a large number of second and third generation ethnic group members. It is relevant here that the interview refusal rate, once eligibility had been established, was extremely low, despite the fact that the main interview occurred at a later date, affording respondents an opportunity to "duck out" of the interview. Second, in the analyses to be presented in

the remainder of this report, generational groups are treated separately. Nevertheless, the reader should keep in mind the possibility of under-sampling of second and third generation ethnic group members in interpreting the findings.

SELECTED SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS: GENERATION, CITY OF RESIDENCE, AGE AND SEX

A few major demographic characteristics of the sample should be noted before we begin in the next chapter to report our main findings on language and language retention.

A. Generation Generation, or time since arrival in Canada, is one of the most important characteristics of an ethnic group member, from the point of view of this study. We have already referred in the previous chapter to the very different immigration experiences of different ethnic groups in Canada. Generation will therefore be a key variable in our subsequent analysis of the survey data. We will in particular want to examine the behaviour of those who are second and third generation “ethnics” rather than immigrants.

Table 3.11 presents the generational status of members of the ten ethnic groups in the five surveyed cities. Just over two-thirds of the urban ethnic group members are immigrants; one-fifth are second generation (i.e., children of immigrants and born in Canada); another one-tenth are third generation; and a small fraction—two percent—are still further removed from immigrant status. The immigrant proportion varies substantially from group to group. At one extreme, almost all the Portuguese and Greeks in the five cities are immigrants. At the other extreme, only a little over one third of the Scandinavians and Ukrainians are immigrants. About half the metropolitan Poles are immigrants, and all of the other large metropolitan ethnic groups are more than half immigrants. Six of ten Germans are immigrants; seven of ten Dutch; eight of ten Italians and Hungarians; nine of ten Chinese. Substantial proportions of all the metropolitan

TABLE 3.11 Percentage of respondents in each generational group, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	First Generation	Second Generation	Third Generation	Older Families	(N)
Chinese	88.7	8.6	2.1	0.7	57,636
Dutch	70.3	15.2	7.8	6.7	76,637
German	62.8	17.6	14.6	4.9	303,874
Greek	95.8	3.5	0.8	0.0	88,640
Hungarian	83.0	15.0	1.8	0.2	34,866
Italian	81.7	13.8	4.5	0.1	382,499
Polish	48.4	40.9	9.9	0.7	91,066
Portuguese	99.5	0.0	0.0	0.5	57,365
Scandinavian	34.6	44.5	18.6	2.3	69,353
Ukrainian	34.9	44.3	19.9	1.0	181,655
Total	67.8	20.8	9.5	1.9	1,343,586

TABLE 3.12 Immigrants' length of time in Canada

Percent of Ethnic Group									
Ethnic Group	Years in Canada/Date of Arrival						Grew up in Canada	Total immigrants, Percent	(N)
	0-4 1969-1973	5-9 1964-1968	10-14 1959-1963	15-19 1954-1958	20-27 1946-1953	28+ 1945-before			
Chinese	35.1	15.4	2.6	12.8	6.9	5.0	7.4	88.7	57,636
Dutch	3.0	2.5	9.1	19.9	20.1	2.3	12.7	70.3	76,638
German	6.4	5.9	6.9	18.9	10.7	3.3	10.6	62.8	303,867
Greek	24.2	28.4	20.4	7.9	6.3	2.2	5.1	95.8	88,642
Hungarian	7.0	3.6	7.0	31.6	14.5	11.5	6.9	83.0	34,866
Italian	5.6	17.6	17.6	21.4	9.5	2.0	7.9	81.7	382,499
Polish	3.0	3.3	5.5	3.1	12.1	9.7	10.0	48.4	91,066
Portuguese	22.7	43.3	17.6	12.2	0.0	0.0	0.8	99.5	57,365
Scandinavian	3.6	0.6	3.9	7.3	4.5	6.2	8.2	34.6	69,353
Ukrainian	0.3	3.0	0.2	2.9	7.8	7.5	13.2	34.9	181,656
Total	7.9	11.6	10.1	14.9	9.5	4.1	9.1	67.8	1,343,595

ethnic groups, including groups with very early immigration histories such as the Germans, are immigrants.

The proportion of immigrants in our sample is considerably higher than the proportion of immigrants among the Canadian non-official language groups generally (as shown by the 1971 census). For example, in our sample, 62.8 percent of the Germans are immigrants, compared to only 37.1 percent among German-Canadians generally. In our sample, 81.7 percent of the Italians are immigrants, compared to only 55.0 percent among Italian-Canadians generally.

There are two reasons for this difference, quite apart from any possible error either in our study or in the census. First, the sample universe includes only the five selected metropolitan areas, not the whole of Canada. Recent immigrants have tended to settle in the cities, contributing to a relatively high concentration of immigrants within the urban ethnic communities. Second, and perhaps even more important, the sample universe includes only those who are 18 years of age or older. Adults are much more likely to be immigrants. Since over one-third of the population is under 18 years of age, adding this largely native-born group to the sample would significantly reduce the overall proportion who are immigrants.

In the rather large group of immigrants we will want to distinguish further the recent immigrants from those who have been in Canada a long time or at least most of their lives. This can be done in Table 3.12. Recent immigration—during the 1960's or after—characterizes all three of the groups in which the largest proportion are immigrants: Portuguese, Greeks and Chinese. Fully 88 percent of all the Portuguese in the five urban centers, and almost three quarters of the Greeks, arrived in Canada since 1958. Over half the Chinese arrived in the past 10 years, and over a third in the past five years.

Other groups in which immigrants predominate are characterized by somewhat earlier immigration. A large group of Hungarian refugees arrived in 1957, of course, and immigration between 1954 and 1958 accounts for nearly one-third of all Hungarians in the five urban centres. Many of the other Hungarian immigrants arrived before 1954. A large group of Italians arrived between 1954 and 1968. This group of immigrants comprises over one-half of all Italians living in the five cities. Dutch and German early post-war immigration also accounts for between 30 and 40 percent of their urban component.

Note that only a small proportion of the immigrants identified themselves as having “grown up in Canada”. These are 9.1 percent of the five-city sample, and about 13 percent of the immigrants in that sample. The remaining 87 percent of the immigrants—over half of the entire sample of ethnic group members—grew up in some country other than Canada.*

A current survey of rural or non-metropolitan ethnic groups in Canada would likely turn up a significantly smaller proportion of immigrants. This would be true particularly of groups such as the Germans, three-fifths of whom are immigrants in our sample. Their very early immigration involved movement onto farms in Ontario and the Prairies. Some of their descendants moved into the cities, but others stayed in the less densely populated areas. More recent immigration has been to the large metropolitan areas. Among other groups, particularly the Portuguese and Greeks, hardly any have moved into non-metropolitan areas. These urban/rural differences in patterns of immigration should be kept in mind in the interpretation of data from this survey.

B. City of Residence Immigrant settlement has not been evenly distributed geographically in Canada. Immigration in recent years has affected primarily Toronto and Montreal, and to a lesser extent Vancouver, whereas it is the much earlier immigrants who now have the greater demographic impact in Winnipeg and Edmonton. The details are presented in Table 3.13, which shows that in Montreal and Toronto, four out of five persons from the ten largest non-English and non-French groups are immigrants.

TABLE 3.13 Percentage in each generational group, by city

City	First Generation	Second Generation	Third Generation	Older Families	(N)
Montreal	77.1	16.2	4.1	2.6	237,052
Toronto	80.2	13.3	5.0	1.5	594,107
Winnipeg	39.7	33.6	24.0	2.7	158,600
Edmonton	40.6	37.4	18.9	3.1	120,101
Vancouver	59.6	27.5	11.8	1.1	233,722
Total	67.8	20.8	9.5	1.9	1,343,576

* The precise number of years these immigrants who grew up in Canada have been in the country was not directly ascertained in the interview. This could be estimated on the basis of their ages, but in the interest of precision they are reported here merely as having grown up in Canada. This serves further to emphasize how few of the immigrants are Canadian-raised.

TABLE 3.14 Percentage in each city, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Montreal	Toronto	Winnipeg	Edmonton	Vancouver	(N)
Chinese	6.0	33.6	3.7	10.1	46.6	57,636
Dutch	5.4	49.0	12.2	12.8	20.5	76,638
German	6.4	39.4	17.6	10.6	26.1	303,876
Greek	29.1	63.6	1.1	0.8	5.3	88,642
Hungarian	27.6	52.4	6.3	4.7	8.9	34,866
Italian	35.8	54.3	0.7	1.0	8.2	382,499
Polish	20.6	34.5	19.6	10.2	15.1	91,066
Portuguese	13.9	71.5	3.8	2.2	8.5	57,365
Scandinavian	1.8	22.9	13.9	14.8	46.6	69,353
Ukrainian	5.3	25.7	32.1	24.9	12.0	181,656
Total	17.6	44.2	11.8	8.9	17.4	1,343,588

It is well known that each city in Canada has a distinctive ethnic mix, and our weighted sample reflects this fact. In Montreal, for example, the largest group by far is the Italians, although there are substantial numbers of Greeks, Germans and Poles. In Toronto too, Italians are most numerous among the ten groups, followed by the Germans, Greeks, Ukrainians, Portuguese, Dutch and Poles. In both Winnipeg and Edmonton, it is the Ukrainians and Germans that are by far the most numerous. Vancouver has a more diverse ethnic mix, like the two eastern cities. The major groups are the Germans, Scandinavians, Italians and Chinese.

Toronto has the largest non-English and non-French population, and represents in our sample just under half—44.2 percent—of the total (see Table 3.14). The city has attracted large numbers of persons from each of the ten groups, and for seven of those groups, the largest settlement is in Toronto. The only exceptions are the Chinese, for whom the Vancouver group is somewhat larger; the Scandinavians, which are also more heavily concentrated in Vancouver; and the Ukrainians who, despite the fact that they are the fourth largest non-English group in Toronto, are actually more numerous in Winnipeg, and nearly as numerous in Edmonton. Edmonton is the smallest city of the five, and accounts for only 8.9 percent of the weighted sample, despite the good representation among Ukrainians.

Table 3.14 indicates the basis upon which city-by-city comparisons within-groups and between-groups have been made and fairly reflects the relative distributions of ethnic groups in Canada by province. It is noted that all groups are well represented (percentage greater than 20) in at least two cities, with the exception of Portuguese who are very strongly Toronto-based.

C. Age and Sex The age and sex distributions of the metropolitan ethnic groups, reported in Tables 3.15 and 3.16, are not unlike those of the Canadian population as a whole. However, variations among the groups are worth noting. Groups characterized by recent immigration tend to be composed of younger people. Sixty-five percent of the Chinese are between the ages of 18 and 35. Fifty-eight percent of the Greeks, and 54 percent of the Portuguese fall in the same age bracket. This contrasts with all the other

TABLE 3.15 Age distribution in the sample

Age	18-25	26-35	36-50	51-60	60+	(N)
Percent	20.4	24.9	34.1	10.2	10.4	(1,333,145)
Ethnic Group	Percent 18-35 Years of Age					
Chinese	65.2					(56,948)
Dutch	38.6					(76,072)
German	43.8					(302,549)
Greek	58.2					(87,622)
Hungarian	36.4					(34,414)
Italian	45.8					(382,502)
Polish	41.0					(88,971)
Portuguese	54.1					(56,737)
Scandinavian	39.3					(68,122)
Ukrainian	40.3					(179,217)
Total	45.3					(1,333,145)

TABLE 3.16 Sex distribution in the sample

Ethnic Group	Percent Male	(N)
Chinese	59.5	(57,636)
Dutch	43.8	(76,637)
German	43.9	(303,870)
Greek	43.2	(88,642)
Hungarian	50.0	(34,866)
Italian	45.1	(382,499)
Polish	46.3	(91,066)
Portuguese	58.2	(57,365)
Scandinavian	42.2	(69,353)
Ukrainian	46.1	(181,653)
Total	46.0	(1,343,584)

groups, in which between 36 and 45 percent are in the 18 to 35-year old group.

Groups characterized by recent immigration also tend to be more predominantly male. Sixty percent of the Chinese and 58 percent of the Portuguese are men. The Greeks are here an exception with only 44 percent male. All the other groups are between 40 and 50 percent male.

These trends in the data obviously result from the fact that immigrants seeking their fortunes in a new land tend to be young men. But again these variations among ethnic groups should be borne in mind as we proceed to examine patterns of language retention.

THE INTERVIEW

Interviews were carried out in the field by the staff of the Survey Research Centre of York University and the Centre de Sondage of the Université de Montréal during the spring of 1973. The interview was designed to ascertain the respondents' attitudes toward their ethnic group and its position in Canadian society, the impact of ethnicity on their lives, with particular emphasis on ethnic language, plus information on their own background and that of members of their families. The average interview lasted approximately one hour. The English version of the interview schedule is included in Appendix E.

Interviews were conducted in English or French except in instances in which the respondent's knowledge of one of those languages was inadequate. Multilingual interviewers were available where necessary. In all, 83 percent of the interviews were conducted in English, and 6 percent were conducted in French. Table 3.17 shows how

TABLE 3.17 Language in which interviews were conducted

Languages	Number of interviews	Percent
English	2,030	83
French	158	6
Greek	71	3
Italian	70	3
Chinese	35	1
Portuguese	34	1
Ukrainian	13	—
Magyar	6	—
Polish	5	—
German	4	—
Dutch	2	—
Other	5	—
Total	2,433	100

to each question was prepared. In the case of Question 13, the most frequent responses were:

- 1) Help each other to get along and adjust in Canada;
- 2) Help to keep up _____ customs and traditions;

(group)
- 3) Help to keep up _____ .

(language)

On the final interview schedule, both the questions and the most-frequently mentioned responses were printed. Interviewers were instructed to read the question, but not to read the response options. They then classified the response in one of the three categories, or else entered it under “other (specify)” or under “no reason”. In effect, the question was asked as an open-ended question, but coding was done on the spot by the interviewer. This procedure appears to have worked rather well. For example, in the actual field interviews, only 8 percent of the responses to Question 13 were classified by the interviewers under “other.”

In a study of such broad scope as this, the question of the results and their discussion is not so much one of presentation as that of selection. The authors estimate that several years of analysis and discussion are possible on the exceptionally rich and varied data bank that has been produced. Accordingly, we wish to make it clear that the results reported and discussed below constitute the first and necessarily broad analyses and interpretations of selected data and are by no means exhaustive.

We have chosen in this first report to describe the results in five sections. The first four of these are concerned with the presentation of basic results and they contain both descriptive and some brief interpretive analyses of relationships between the variables of language knowledge, use, and support for retention. In these sections, discussion has been limited to interpretation for information and understanding. In the last section, we present an analysis of causal relationships among the main variables in the study, based on path models and linear regression. An overall assessment of the results is reserved for discussion in Chapter V.

Section I describes **reported knowledge of the non-official language** in each of the ten ethnic groups in each of the five metropolitan areas included in the survey. The impact of generational status on language knowledge is analysed to assess the actual extent of inter-generational language retention and to help explain group differences in current language knowledge. Section 1 also examines the relationship between language knowledge and socioeconomic status.

Section 2 describes **use of the non-official language**, both in terms of frequency of use, and context of use. Relevant contexts include: the family, friendship groups, work groups, and the media — television, radio, and the press. The section is primarily descriptive, but language use in each group is related to city of residence and generational status.

Section 3 describes **support for non-official language retention** in each ethnic group, in terms of absolute numbers, proportions, and the degree of group consensus or polarization. In each group, the importance of the language issue relative to other concerns, and the reasons why people support or oppose language retention, are discussed. Support for language retention is then analysed in relation to city of residence, language knowledge, generational status, and ethnic identification. The relevance of various agencies of language retention is also considered.

Section 4 contains specific data on **the focus of support for non-official language retention** as it concerns specific facilities and agents, including ethnic and general educational institutions; ethnic churches; the ethnic press, radio and television. As well, data are presented on viewpoints regarding the general question of multiculturalism.

Section 5 examines in greater detail the **determinants of language knowledge, use, and support**. Each variable is analysed as a dependent variable in path and regression analyses which include generation, income, education, neighbourhood, and age as other relevant variables.

The mass of data generated by the study has now been reduced to basic tables and some of those not discussed in the text are included in Appendix D. All tables are based on weighted estimates of population distributions.

SECTION 1 — KNOWLEDGE OF NON-OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

A. The Language Knowledge Index Current knowledge of the non-official language is certainly a key variable in this study, but it was not feasible to devise and administer an actual, valid test of language knowledge. Instead, we rely on respondents' assessments of their own language knowledge. Of course, it is likely that some claimants of fluency in the ancestral tongue would not be judged fluent by others. Nevertheless, self-perception of fluency is a valid variable in itself and, in the context of this study, it represents an indication of each group's perception of its own degree of competence in the tongue. However, it must be remembered that the data on language knowledge is derived from **reported** competence in the language.

An index of non-official language was constructed from responses to six interview questions. These include questions on mother tongue, overall knowledge, and self-rated knowledge in understanding, speaking, reading and writing the language.

The language knowledge index has three categories: fluent, some knowledge (but not fluent), and no knowledge. Respondents could qualify as "fluent" in two ways. They were classed as fluent if they reported themselves able to understand, to speak, to read, and to write the language "very well". In cases in which the respondents' mother tongue and ethnic language were the same (see Table 4.1), it was presumed that they both understand and speak the language well. These respondents would be classified as fluent if they reported themselves able both to read and to write the language "very well".

The "some knowledge" category includes respondents having a degree of knowl-

TABLE 4.1 Percentages reporting each mother tongue, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Mother Tongue				(N)*
	English	French	Ethnic	Other	
Chinese	6.5	0.4	91.8	1.4	57,636
Dutch	22.8	0.3	74.1	2.8	76,637
German	27.2	2.3	69.1	1.4	303,872
Greek	2.0	0.0	91.2	6.8	88,640
Hungarian	9.2	0.7	85.6	4.5	34,866
Italian	8.7	3.2	87.9	0.3	382,499
Polish	23.0	1.2	63.8	12.1	91,066
Portuguese	2.9	0.0	97.1	0.0	57,365
Scandinavian	60.1	0.4	33.5	6.2	69,353
Ukrainian	26.5	0.5	72.4	0.6	181,651
Total	18.9	1.6	78.2	1.3	1,343,580

* Note that, in this and all subsequent tables, all (N) are presented as they were actually used to calculate percentages. As estimates of population sizes, however, they are only roughly accurate.

edge of the language but who were not fluent in all aspects. For example, a respondent's mother tongue might be his ethnic language, but if he reports himself as less than fluent in either reading or writing his ethnic language, he would be classified as having only "some knowledge" of the language. A similar classification was made in the case of those respondents who had dissimilar mother tongues and ethnic languages and who reported themselves as having some knowledge but being less than fluent in any aspect of language knowledge.

The "no knowledge" category contains all respondents who reported that they possessed no knowledge of the ethnic language.

Of the total sample, 50.3 percent were classified as fluent in their ethnic language, 36.0 percent as possessing some knowledge, and only 13.8 percent as possessing no knowledge of the language at all.

The "some knowledge" category will cause some difficulty in interpretation because it covers such a wide range of possibilities. For example, illiterate immigrants would be classified in this category, along with third generation persons who studied their ethnic language as a second language in college. Difficulties of this kind are inevitable, and further sub-classification seemed inadvisable for this first broad report. As it is, the "some knowledge" category contains only about one-third of the sample. An idea of the distribution of language knowledge within the category can be gained from an examination of Table 4.2. This table illustrates most importantly the degree to which differences in reading and writing skills appear among respondents in the "some knowledge" category. More than 30 percent of respondents reported that they had no reading or writing skills in the language, while only 8.6 percent and 1.0 percent of the respondents in this classification reported very good skills in reading and writing respectively. Note that those respondents who claimed their ethnic tongue as their mother tongue (78.7 percent) were not asked to report on their level of comprehension or speaking. It is, of course, conceivable that some of these respondents may never have possessed very good skill in these aspects even though their ethnic tongue and mother tongue were the same. Therefore, some caution must be exercised in interpreting the data. The language knowledge index should be regarded as reflecting current language skills rather than language background. Indeed, except for those whose mother tongue and ethnic tongue are the same, the data may be taken to represent language **acquisition**.

TABLE 4.2 Percentages reporting specific levels of knowledge in the non-official language, among those who have some knowledge of the non-official language

Aspect of Language Knowledge	Self-Evaluation of Knowledge					(N)
	Very Well	Fairly Well	Not Very Well	Not At All	Inapp.*	
Reading	8.6	32.3	27.8	30.1	—	(483,129)
Writing	1.0	28.8	28.2	40.8	—	(483,127)
Comprehension	4.7	6.9	8.7	0.7	78.7	(483,129)
Speaking	2.3	4.3	12.3	2.0	78.7	(483,129)

* Question not asked because Ethnic Tongue is Mother Tongue.

TABLE 4.3 Percentages at each level of non-official language knowledge, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Non-Official Language			(N)
	Fluent	Some Knowledge	No Knowledge	
Chinese	52.9	43.4	3.7	(57,636)
Dutch	49.1	32.8	18.0	(76,637)
German	49.6	28.9	21.5	(303,875)
Greek	78.8	20.3	.9	(88,641)
Hungarian	64.2	26.0	9.7	(34,866)
Italian	59.7	34.0	6.3	(382,500)
Polish	35.8	41.5	22.7	(91,066)
Portuguese	55.7	42.0	2.3	(57,365)
Scandinavian	22.6	29.7	47.7	(69,353)
Ukrainian	30.7	58.1	11.2	(181,653)
Total	50.3	36.0	13.8	(1,343,587)

TABLE 4.4 Percentages at each level of non-official language knowledge, by generation

Generation	Language Knowledge			(N)
	Fluent	Some Knowledge	No Knowledge	
First Generation	70.8	27.4	1.9	(910,419)
Second Generation	10.8	64.2	24.9	(279,708)
Third Generation	0.6	38.7	60.7	(128,091)
Older Families	0.0	18.8	81.2	(25,342)
Total	50.3	36.0	13.8	(1,343,599)

Table 4.3 presents the percentage distribution of levels of knowledge of the non-official language in each ethnic group in the survey. Over 50 percent fluency is reported by the Chinese, Greeks, Hungarians, Italians and Portuguese. Somewhat lower rates of fluency are reported by the Dutch and Germans, and the lowest rates are reported by Poles, Scandinavians and Ukrainians. This rank ordering of groups by language fluency rates is identical to the rank ordering by the percentage which are immigrants

TABLE 4.5 Percentages fluent in the non-official language, by ethnic group and generation (N)

Ethnic	Generation		
	First Generation	Second Generation	Third Generation
Chinese	59.7 (51,097)	—* (4,956)	— (1,197)
Dutch	67.7 (53,841)	9.8 (11,638)	0.8 (6,003)
German	77.7 (190,747)	4.6 (53,626)	0.0 (44,471)
Greek	80.7 (84,876)	— (3,076)	— (689)
Hungarian	76.1 (28,930)	7.5 (5,235)	— (620)
Italian	71.7 (312,412)	8.6 (52,638)	— (17,048)
Polish	64.6 (44,115)	9.8 (37,261)	4.9 (9,039)
Portuguese	56.0 (57,053)	— (0)	— (0)
Scandinavian	58.5 (23,996)	5.2 (30,866)	0.0 (12,900)
Ukrainian	63.6 (63,378)	18.9 (80,423)	0.7 (36,125)
Total	70.8 (910,446)	10.8 (279,717)	0.6 (128,091)

*In this and subsequent tables, percentages are computed only where the unweighted N is 20 or more.

(see above, Table 3.11). In other words, most of the group differences in fluency rates can be explained by length of time in Canada. Note, however, that substantial proportions (at least one in five) having no knowledge of the language at all are found among the Dutch and Germans, as well as among the Poles and Scandinavians. Considering the low proportion of immigrants among the Ukrainians, it is perhaps surprising that only 11.2 percent reported no knowledge of the Ukrainian language.

B. Generational Differences in Language Knowledge Fluency decreases rapidly from generation to generation. Table 4.4 shows that 70.8 percent of immigrants are fluent. There are three main reasons why immigrants are not fluent in their ethnic tongue. First of all, some immigrants have a mother tongue other than the ethnic tongue because they are immigrating from a third community, such as England, France, or the United States. Second, some persons immigrate at a very young age, and as they grow

up in Canada, never acquire a good knowledge of the ethnic tongue. Third, some adult immigrants who grew up in the ancestral country are not classed as fluent because of illiteracy. (They either do not read or write well in their ethnic language).

Fluency drops sharply in the second generation, to 10.8 percent, and is almost nonexistent in the third and older generations. However, most second generation respondents and more than a third of the third generation respondents reported some knowledge of their language. It would be desirable to gauge more precisely the exact level of language knowledge among those second and third generation respondents who are not completely fluent, but do have some knowledge. However, this would require a very complex analysis and the present report must restrict itself to a discussion of basic trends in each group.

Across groups and among the immigrants (Table 4.5), the highest reported fluency was found among Greeks, Germans and Hungarians. Lowest fluency percentages were found among Portuguese, Scandinavians and Chinese. Differing rates of fluency among immigrants may be surprising, but they are probably due to two factors. First, the educational level of the immigrant group influences the level of fluency according to our measure, because literacy is one aspect of language knowledge. Second, the length of time the immigrants have been in Canada affects current fluency, and particularly those immigrants who grew up in Canada may now have somewhat limited knowledge of their ethnic language.

What is perhaps more critical in terms of this study is the degree of language retention in the second and third generation. Fluency is markedly lower for all ethnic groups in the second generation. Highest reported fluency was found among Ukrainian respondents, with the Dutch, Polish and Italians being the next highest groups. These data confirm the assertion of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism that Ukrainian was being maintained at relatively high levels by Canadian-born Ukrainians. The Scandinavian and German Canadians have the lowest levels of language retention among second generation residents of the five metropolitan areas.

Despite the lack of fluency, ethnic languages are known to some degree by most respondents in the second generation. Indeed, 64.2 percent of all such respondents claimed some knowledge (Table 4.6). Italians, Ukrainians and Germans reported the highest percentage of respondents with some knowledge of the language, while Scandinavians reported the lowest. These findings also substantiate those of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

Respondents in the third generation group (9.5 percent of the sample) were very low in claimed fluency (0.6 percent) but the percentage of those reporting some knowledge was 38.7 percent (Table 4.6). For particular groups in the third generation, the small size of the samples makes it difficult to have a high degree of confidence in the results, but it is noted that all groups reported some degree of language knowledge, with Ukrainians highest at 61.8 percent and Poles lowest at 24.8 percent. However, remember that 4.9 percent of the Poles claimed fluency—the highest recorded percentage among the third generation respondents. A large number of Germans are included in the third generation, and 27.0 percent reported some language knowledge. Scandinavians were also well represented and the percentage of their respondents reporting at least some knowledge of the language was 29.9 percent.

It seems fairly clear that language fluency rarely persists through successive generations; that some—and quite probably substantial—language knowledge is present in the second generation group, but is very much more rare by the third generation. This is not a very surprising finding, but the trend is very striking and its implications will be further discussed in the section dealing with correlates of language retention. At this point, however, it may be noted that the substantial and rapid decline in language

TABLE 4.6 Percentages with some knowledge of non-official languages but not fluent, by ethnic group and generation (N)

Ethnic Group	Generation	
	Second Generation	Third Generation
Chinese	— (4,956)	— (1,197)
Dutch	48.4 (11,638)	53.3 (6,003)
German	65.4 (53,626)	27.0 (44,471)
Greek	— (3,076)	— (689)
Hungarian	48.2 (5,235)	— (620)
Italian	74.0 (52,638)	— (17,048)
Polish	59.1 (37,261)	24.8 (9,039)
Portuguese	— (0)	— (0)
Scandinavian	31.8 (30,866)	29.9 (12,900)
Ukrainian	73.8 (80,423)	61.8 (36,125)
Total	64.2 (279,717)	38.7 (128,091)

fluency is bound to continue unless strong measures are adopted to provide opportunities for a reversal of this trend. Whether such measures are, in fact justified is discussed later in this report, primarily in the section dealing with expressed support for language retention.

From a city-by-group representation of the language knowledge variable (Table 4.7), it can be seen that the highest percentages of fluency are reported for Toronto and Montreal and the lowest for Winnipeg and Edmonton. This finding was expected, since the first two cities also have the highest percentages of immigrants, and the last two cities have the lowest. Vancouver falls between Toronto and Montreal on the one hand, and Winnipeg and Edmonton on the other, a position it occupies on many of the variables in this study.

C. Income, Education, and Knowledge of the Non-Official Language It is frequently suggested, and has been noted in Chapter II, that when ethnic group members become fully integrated into the economic life of the country, they tend more quickly to

TABLE 4.7 Percentages fluent in the non-official language, by ethnic group and city (N)

Ethnic Group	City				
	Montreal	Toronto	Winnipeg	Edmonton	Vancouver
Chinese	— (3,455)	53.8 (19,377)	67.8 (2,126)	— (5,827)	50.8 (26,851)
Dutch	— (4,173)	54.9 (37,586)	— (9,317)	56.0 (9,828)	40.2 (15,734)
German	51.8 (19,348)	66.0 (119,730)	37.6 (53,382)	26.2 (32,175)	41.8 (79,243)
Greek	80.1 (25,828)	79.6 (56,371)	— (1,009)	— (731)	— (4,703)
Hungarian	76.6 (9,627)	64.4 (18,267)	56.8 (2,201)	— (1,654)	36.4 (3,116)
Italian	58.8 (137,080)	61.4 (207,692)	— (2,516)	— (3,902)	56.3 (31,313)
Polish	49.1 (18,759)	34.9 (31,426)	31.3 (17,873)	27.2 (9,253)	31.2 (13,755)
Portuguese	— (7,992)	53.3 (41,039)	— (2,171)	— (1,271)	— (4,891)
Scandinavian	— (1,224)	45.1 (15,891)	14.3 (9,656)	— (10,296)	16.2 (32,287)
Ukrainian	26.7 (9,569)	51.1 (46,741)	22.9 (58,349)	23.7 (45,163)	24.1 (21,834)
Total	59.0 (237,056)	60.3 (594,118)	31.0 (158,600)	29.9 (120,101)	39.5 (233,726)

abandon their attachment to their ethnic group. In the present context, this might be taken to imply that ethnic group members who achieve the higher levels of education and income would be those least likely to retain or acquire a knowledge of their ethnic language. This is an extremely important issue because it raises the question of whether cultural pluralism is really compatible with equality of economic opportunity.

Our findings do not indicate that language loss in the second and third generation is substantially related to socioeconomic status. Table 4.8 shows levels of non-official language knowledge in each income group. There is a slight tendency for the middle income group to report language fluency more often, but the differences between income groups in this respect are really quite small.

This finding is particularly interesting in the light of the prior research reported in Chapter II. It is clear that generation is strongly related to language knowledge, and further, it might have been expected that immigrant groups would have lower levels of income than second and third generation groups. But as Table 4.9 shows, there is no strong relation between generation and income in our sample. Immigrants to Canada are now earning incomes on a par with the incomes earned by native-born Canadians

TABLE 4.8 Percentages at each level of non-official language knowledge, by annual family income

Annual Family Income	Language Knowledge			(N)
	Fluent	Some Knowledge	No Knowledge	
\$14,000 or more	47.3	35.7	16.9	(286,371)
\$7,000-\$13,999	53.3	33.9	12.8	(545,431)
Less than \$7,000	48.5	38.7	12.9	(271,614)

TABLE 4.9 Percentages at each annual family income level, by generation

Generation	Annual Family Income				(N)
	\$14,000 or more	\$7,000-\$13,999	Less Than \$7,000	(Refuse to Answer; Don't Know)	
First Generation	20.3	42.1	20.5	17.1	(910,425)
Second Generation	21.6	34.7	20.9	22.9	(279,714)
Third Generation	26.8	43.2	15.3	14.7	(128,091)
Older Families	26.2	39.0	29.2	5.7	(25,342)
Total	21.3	40.6	20.2	17.9	(1,343,568)

in the same ethnic groups. This may reflect a changed opportunity structure for first generation newcomers. Thus, it can be suggested that in contemporary Canada among the groups studied for this report, the previously observed trend of lower economic opportunity for the immigrant than for his descendants is not markedly apparent. And in any case, levels of income do not correlate strongly with retention of language. This latter statement is better illustrated by the regression analyses which appear later in the study.

Respondents having achieved a high level of educational attainment do less frequently report non-official language knowledge than respondents having relatively little education. This can be seen in Table 4.10. However, this relationship does not arise because of the effect of education. The best educated respondents in our sample tend to be second and third generation ethnic group members, rather than immigrants (see Table 4.11), and it is their generational status, rather than their level of education, which accounts for their language knowledge.

This can be seen in Table 4.12, where the effect of education can be examined within

TABLE 4.10 Percentages at each level of non-official language knowledge, by years of education

Years of Education	Language Knowledge			(N)
	Fluent	Some Knowledge	No Knowledge	
13 years or more	39.3	42.4	18.3	(289,744)
9-12 years	42.9	35.4	21.7	(535,567)
8 years or less	64.0	33.0	3.0	(518,247)
Total	50.3	36.0	13.8	(1,343,556)

TABLE 4.11 Percentages at each level of education, by generation

Generation	Years of Education			(N)
	13 years or more	9-12 years	8 years or less	
First Generation	18.8	32.3	49.0	(910,420)
Second Generation	25.6	54.2	20.0	(279,709)
Third Generation	29.5	61.3	9.2	(128,091)
Older Families	37.7	46.0	16.3	(25,342)
Total	21.6	39.9	38.6	(1,343,558)

generational groups. Among immigrants, for example, there is only a slight tendency for the better educated respondents to be less often fluent than the others. In the second generation, born in Canada, the best educated group is less fluent than the least educated group, but those respondents with the middle level of education (9-12 years) report the lowest frequency of fluency. The effect of education is seen to be greatest in the third generation group. Among third generation ethnic group members, 70.9 percent of those with 8 years of education or less report some language knowledge, as opposed to 33.0 percent of those with 9-12 years of education, and 40.4 percent of those with 13 years of education or more. But the uneducated third generation group is really quite small.

In summary, there is very little effect of education and income on knowledge of non-official languages in Canada. The processes which make for language maintenance are much more strongly related to generational status than they are to socioeconomic status. It would seem that from the point of view of language retention, the difficulty in teaching the children of immigrants to speak an ethnic language is great, and that this difficulty exists at all levels of society. Quite clearly the power of the

TABLE 4.12 Percentages at each level of non-official language knowledge, by generation and years of education

Language Knowledge					
Generation	Years of Education	Fluent	Some Knowledge	No Knowledge	(N)
First Generation	13 or more	61.7	34.9	3.4	(170,806)
	9-12	74.3	22.3	3.4	(293,699)
	8 or less	71.9	27.8	0.2	(445,926)
Second Generation	13 or more	11.4	64.7	23.9	(71,664)
	9-12	7.3	62.6	30.1	(151,682)
	8 or less	19.5	68.1	12.4	(56,369)
Third Generation	13 or more	0.8	40.4	58.8	(37,730)
	9-12	0.6	33.0	66.5	(78,532)
	8 or less	0.0	70.9	29.1	(11,829)

dominant cultures is such that efforts by the parents to provide a fluent knowledge of the language to their children are beset with problems from many sources. Whenever such efforts are made, they must confront the extraordinary competition of the demand on the child's time from all the official-language activities, both formal and informal, as well as the more subtle but no less serious problems associated with peer pressures, rejection of parental values (especially during adolescence), lack of formal and informal ethnic instructional facilities and a wide variety of other factors.

SECTION 2 — USE OF NON-OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

Knowledge of some non-official language would have no individual or social impact if that language is not normally used. Any appraisal of the significance of non-official languages in Canada must consider the use of such languages and the contexts in which this use occurs. How frequently do those who know any of the non-official languages use that language? To what extent does that use primarily consist of conversation with family members, and to what extent does it extend to a wider network of friends, or still further, into more formal uses, such as in churches and other organizational settings? In short, what is the significance of the non-official languages as a media of communication in Canadian society and social institutions?

A. Frequency of Use An inexact but useful idea of the overall frequency of use of non-official languages can be obtained from responses to the question: "How often do you speak in (Chinese, Dutch, etc.)?" Over half the sample (54.7 percent) reported speaking in the language "every day." Another 7.9 percent reported that they "often" use it, 10.2 percent at least "occasionally," and the remainder either rarely or never. Obviously, such use is strongly associated with language knowledge, as Table 4.13 makes clear. Of those who are fluent, frequent use in speaking is nearly universal. Among those reporting only some knowledge, almost half (46.6 percent) report only "occasional," "rare," or no use, or have insufficient conversational knowledge. It is clear that non-official language knowledge is indeed put to use: exceedingly few of those with at least some conversational ability report that they "rarely or never" use the language in speaking.

TABLE 4.13 Percentages at each level of non-official language use, by language knowledge

Language Knowledge	Frequency of Language Use					Insufficient Conversational Knowledge	(N)
	Every Day	Often	Occ.	Rarely	Never		
Fluent	81.1	7.3	7.8	3.6	0.2	0.0	675,331
Some Knowledge	39.0	11.6	17.4	10.4	4.2	14.6	483,140
No Knowledge	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	185,095
Total	54.7	7.9	10.2	5.6	1.6	19.0	1,343,564

Since language fluency exists more often among immigrants, it is to be expected that it will be the immigrants who most often use the language. This is confirmed in Table 4.14, and the drop in language use from generation to generation is very sharp. This drop occurs more sharply than the generational drop in language knowledge itself, as can be seen by comparing Table 4.14 with Table 4.4. This implies that in the second and third generations, the ethnic language tends to fall into a degree of disuse even among those who know it well. This conclusion is confirmed in Table 4.15, where the association between generation and language use is reported for groups having the same knowledge.

This is a significant result of the study because disuse of an existing language skill, particularly in the second generation, may be an important link in leading to further deterioration of language knowledge itself. What social and motivational conditions lead to disuse of an available language skill? It seems likely that, if contact with the parental generation is reduced, second generation persons will have both reduced

TABLE 4.14 Percentages at each level of non-official language use, by generation

Frequency of Language Use						
Generation	Every Day	Often	Occ.	Rarely or Never	Insufficient Conversational Knowledge	(N)
First Generation	74.9	7.3	8.6	4.9	3.5	(910,429)
Second Generation	18.0	11.9	15.5	14.6	38.0	(279,713)
Third Generation	2.6	4.5	9.2	7.5	74.5	(128,089)
Older Families	0.0	0.0	12.1	2.3	85.6	(25,342)
Total	54.7	7.9	10.2	7.2	19.0	(1,343,567)

TABLE 4.15 Percentages at each level of non-official language use, by generation and language knowledge

Frequency of Language Use							
Generation	Language Knowledge	Every Day	Often	Occ.	Rarely or Never	Insufficient Conversational Knowledge	(N)
First Generation	Fluent	82.5	6.2	7.5	3.8	—	(644,288)
	Some Knowledge	60.2	10.8	12.3	8.5	6.1	(249,152)
Second Generation	Fluent	50.3	31.4	14.7	3.7	—	(30,299)
	Some Knowledge	19.5	13.2	21.6	22.0	20.3	(179,691)
Third Generation	Fluent	—	—	—	—	—	(744)
	Some Knowledge	6.2	10.9	23.6	19.3	35.6	(49,541)
Older Families	Fluent	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Some Knowledge	0.0	0.0	64.5	12.1	23.4	(4,760)
TOTAL	Fluent	81.1	7.3	7.8	3.8	—	(675,332)
	Some Knowledge	39.2	11.6	17.4	14.6	14.6	(483,143)

opportunity and reduced motivation to use the non-official languages, unless sufficient institutional supports for such use exist in the wider community. This focuses attention on the question of the context of language use in different generations. Of particular interest to this study will be the encouragement of language use by such facilities as ethnic newspapers, media programming and other means. But before turning to this, we will examine overall language use in particular ethnic groups.

Among ethnic groups there is considerable variation in language use. Table 4.16 shows that everyday use ranged from highs reported by Greeks (89.5 percent), Portuguese (89.1 percent), and Chinese (82.7 percent) to lows indicated by Polish (39.6), Germans (35.6), Ukrainians (35.2 percent), Dutch (31.5 percent), and Scandinavians (8.0 percent).

Differences between groups in language knowledge accounts for some of the group differences in language use, but by no means all of them. Table 4.17 shows the frequency of use by ethnic group for respondents, all of whom are fluent in the ethnic language. Almost all of the fluent Chinese, Greek, Italian and Portuguese use the language every day. In the other groups, the language falls into varying degrees of disuse. This disuse is least widespread among the fluent Ukrainians, Hungarians, Poles and Germans. Disuse is greatest for the fluent Dutch and Scandinavians, among whom 36.6 percent and 52.8 percent, respectively, use the ethnic language only occasionally, rarely, or never. Similar group variations in disuse can be seen among respondents reporting only some language knowledge (see Table 4.17). Again, Portuguese, Chinese, Italians, and Greeks were the most frequent users of their respective languages; the Poles, Hungarians and Ukrainians were somewhat less frequent users: the Germans, Dutch, and Scandinavians the least frequent users.

Differences between groups in non-use of an available language skill might be attributed to one or more of several conditions. First of all, if there are relatively few persons in a given community who know the language, presumably those who do know it will find fewer occasions on which it is possible or necessary to use it. This might

TABLE 4.16 Percentages at each level of non-official language use, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Frequency of Language Use					(N)
	Every Day	Often	Occ.	Rarely or Never	Insufficient Conversational Knowledge	
Chinese	82.7	5.3	5.7	1.4	4.9	(57,636)
Dutch	31.5	8.5	23.6	13.2	21.9	(76,637)
German	35.6	10.1	15.4	10.4	27.7	(303,876)
Greek	89.5	2.2	2.8	2.4	2.3	(88,640)
Hungarian	55.9	7.2	13.8	9.6	10.7	(34,866)
Italian	78.5	5.8	2.9	3.0	9.4	(382,500)
Polish	39.6	6.5	15.7	7.7	28.8	(91,066)
Portuguese	89.1	6.1	0.8	0.6	2.3	(57,365)
Scandinavian	8.0	5.9	13.9	11.3	59.7	(69,353)
Ukrainian	35.2	13.8	14.3	11.9	22.6	(181,656)
Total	54.7	7.9	10.2	7.2	19.0	(1,343,583)

TABLE 4.17 Percentages at each level of non-official language use, by ethnic group and language knowledge**A. Language knowledge: Fluent**

Ethnic Group	Frequency of Language Use					(N)
	Every Day	Often	Occ.	Rarely or Never	Insufficient Conversational Knowledge	
Chinese	92.9	4.5	2.6	0.0	0.0	(30,484)
Dutch	57.2	6.2	30.6	6.0	0.0	(37,648)
German	65.2	11.1	14.3	9.5	0.0	(150,639)
Greek	97.3	1.5	0.3	0.9	0.0	(69,865)
Hungarian	76.6	5.8	14.1	3.5	0.0	(22,401)
Italian	92.2	5.1	1.4	1.3	0.0	(228,392)
Polish	75.9	12.2	7.4	4.6	0.0	(32,593)
Portuguese	95.0	2.4	0.7	0.0	0.0	(31,925)
Scandinavian	31.2	16.1	42.9	9.9	0.0	(15,641)
Ukrainian	78.1	14.3	5.3	2.2	0.0	(55,757)
Total	81.1	7.3	7.8	3.8	0.0	(675,344)

TABLE 4.17 (Continued) B. Language knowledge: Some

Ethnic Group	Frequency of Language Use					(N)
	Every Day	Often	Occ.	Rarely or Never	Insufficient Conversational Knowledge	
Chinese	77.2	6.8	10.0	3.1	2.9	(25,042)
Dutch	10.2	16.7	26.1	31.4	11.6	(25,168)
German	11.4	16.0	28.7	19.7	21.4	(87,861)
Greek	62.8	4.9	12.5	8.5	6.8	(17,991)
Hungarian	25.8	13.4	18.3	28.4	3.9	(9,070)
Italian	68.9	8.2	6.1	6.4	9.2	(129,922)
Polish	30.0	5.2	31.5	14.8	14.6	(37,796)
Portuguese	86.2	11.5	1.0	1.4	0.0	(24,111)
Scandinavian	3.3	7.6	14.3	30.2	40.3	(20,624)
Ukrainian	19.3	16.2	21.8	19.2	19.6	(105,561)
Total	39.0	11.6	17.4	14.6	14.6	(483,146)

account in part for the fact that among those who know a non-official language, the greatest use occurs in groups having the highest proportions who are fluent (Greek, Portuguese, Italian and Chinese) and the least use occurs in groups having the lowest proportions who are fluent (Scandinavian). The Germans and Dutch both have a substantially higher fluency rate than the Scandinavians, and both groups also have a substantially higher rate of use among those who are fluent. However, there are exceptions to this. For example, fluency rate among Hungarians (64.2 percent—see Table 4.3) is approximately twice the fluency rate among Ukrainians (30.7 percent) and Poles (35.8 percent) and yet among those who are fluent, the Ukrainians and Poles are every bit as likely as the Hungarians to speak in their ethnic language every day. For the Ukrainians, this might be attributable to the larger **absolute** number of Ukrainians who are fluent (55,000 Ukrainians as opposed to 22,000 Hungarians), but other possible reasons should be considered. The absolute number of fluent group members in other groups does not appear to be a critical factor in explaining varying rates of use among those who are fluent.

A second possibility is that there are varying degrees of institutional support and encouragement for use of the non-official languages. That is, some ethnic groups may place a higher value upon the use and maintenance of their ethnic language, and their community life may be structured in such a way as to encourage language use, both at the formal and informal levels. This interesting possibility, which obviously may have implications for the longevity of different non-official languages in Canada, will be explored to some degree later in this study.

Some very interesting city-by-city differences were observed when overall frequency of use was compared. These results are presented in Table 4.18. The table reports use by all respondents and regardless of group affiliation or language knowledge. It can be

TABLE 4.18 Percentages at each level of non-official language use, by city

Frequency of Language Use						
City	Every Day	Often	Occ.	Rarely or Never	Insufficient Conversational Knowledge	(N)
Montreal	73.8	5.9	4.2	3.1	12.4	(237,053)
Toronto	63.7	6.8	9.6	6.5	13.0	(594,111)
Winnipeg	34.9	10.1	13.7	6.4	29.5	(158,600)
Edmonton	31.5	15.9	13.5	12.0	26.8	(120,101)
Vancouver	38.1	6.8	13.7	11.2	30.0	(233,724)
Total	54.7	7.9	10.2	7.2	19.0	(1,343,584)

TABLE 4.19 Percentages at each level of non-official language use, by city and language knowledge

Frequency of Language Use							
City	Language Knowledge	Every day	Often	Occ.	Rarely or Never	Insufficient Conversational Knowledge	(N)
Montreal	Fluent	89.3	5.1	3.1	2.1	0.0	(139,828)
	Some Knowledge	67.5	9.2	7.6	5.9	8.6	(74,243)
Toronto	Fluent	81.5	6.7	8.5	3.3	0.0	(358,129)
	Some Knowledge	47.1	9.0	14.3	14.3	13.8	(184,106)
Winnipeg	Fluent	77.2	9.8	8.0	5.1	0.0	(49,210)
	Some Knowledge	22.5	14.6	23.2	9.8	18.8	(77,082)
Edmonton	Fluent	65.4	21.3	8.4	4.9	0.0	(35,877)
	Some Knowledge	24.3	19.4	22.2	21.3	12.2	(59,345)
Vancouver	Fluent	75.2	6.5	11.6	6.7	0.0	(92,296)
	Some Knowledge	22.4	11.3	24.0	22.5	19.2	(88,371)

seen from Table 4.18 that rates of non-official language use are higher by far in Montreal and Toronto than in either Winnipeg, Edmonton or Vancouver. Less than half the respondents in the latter three cities regularly make use of their ancestral language. Obviously, generational differences, distribution of groups, degree of opportunity for use of the language, family religious and attitudinal patterns, and access to media are likely to be involved.

Greater language knowledge among ethnic groups in Montreal and Toronto accounts for some, but again by no means all, of the city-by-city variation in language use (see Table 4.19). Even among those who are fluent, residents of Montreal and Toronto

TABLE 4.20 Percentages using the non-official languages at various degrees of frequency, by generation and city

Frequency of Language Use							(N)
Generation	City	Every Day	Often	Occ.	Rarely or Never	Insufficient Conversational Knowledge	
First Generation	Montreal	87.9	3.2	3.5	2.0	2.6	(182,755)
	Toronto	77.1	7.1	8.8	4.5	2.3	(476,549)
	Winnipeg	63.8	11.7	7.7	6.8	5.5	(62,966)
	Edmonton	55.4	19.1	12.6	8.0	4.8	(48,752)
	Vancouver	62.2	7.4	14.0	8.5	7.9	(139,418)
Second Generation	Montreal	36.5	17.6	7.6	7.2	31.1	(38,323)
	Toronto	14.0	8.5	15.5	16.9	43.4	(78,981)
	Winnipeg	23.7	12.3	19.7	7.5	30.0	(53,290)
	Edmonton	23.5	16.8	15.1	16.4	27.4	(44,907)
	Vancouver	3.3	8.8	17.0	20.6	49.5	(64,216)
Third Generation	Montreal	3.4	14.4	3.7	8.2	70.4	(9,826)
	Toronto	0.0	0.0	5.0	11.6	83.3	(29,796)
	Winnipeg	6.6	5.6	17.0	3.3	62.2	(38,099)
	Edmonton	1.3	10.0	8.8	13.5	66.4	(22,758)
	Vancouver	0.9	0.0	5.2	3.4	90.0	(27,613)

still exhibit a somewhat greater use of the non-official languages. The differences among the cities are more marked for residents whose language knowledge is more marginal. These differences may reflect a greater opportunity to use the language in the larger metropolitan areas where there are more immigrants and where such facilities as the ethnic press, radio and television, and where ethnic clubs and schools are more readily available. The existence of such facilities could have an effect on attitudes towards use, as well as on opportunity for language use.

The need to consider institutional aspects of language use can be seen in the generational trends in language use across cities (Table 4.20). Among immigrants, differences in language use among cities follows the general pattern. This indicates that generational status does not account completely for city differences in language use. In the second and third generations, a very interesting and unexpected trend appears. Language use in the second and third generations is relatively low both in Toronto and in Vancouver. These low rates of use occur partly because of lower rates of language retention (see the right-hand column in Table 4.20), and partly because of other factors. In general, the data suggest that continued language use in the second and third generations is not influenced merely by the proportion of immigrants in a city. To explain all these patterns would require a very intensive analysis of the institutions within which language use takes place.

The concentrations of particular groups in particular cities seems to relate to some of the city-by-city variation in language use. For some particular ethnic groups, there are no substantial differences in language use by city. Table 4.21 shows this to be true for

TABLE 4.21 Percentages at each level of non-official language use, by city and ethnic group

A. Montreal

Ethnic Group	Frequency of Language Use					(N)
	Every Day	Often	Occ.	Rarely or Never	Insufficient Conversational Knowledge	
Chinese	—	—	—	—	—	(3,455)
Dutch	—	—	—	—	—	(4,173)
German	37.8	6.1	11.0	10.5	34.6	(19,348)
Greek	97.1	0.0	2.0	0.0	1.0	(25,828)
Hungarian	68.8	7.3	5.1	2.2	7.5	(9,627)
Italian	80.5	6.5	2.6	2.4	8.0	(137,079)
Polish	57.4	7.9	6.2	0.0	28.5	(18,759)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	—	(7,992)
Scandinavian	—	—	—	—	—	(1,224)
Ukrainian	32.6	10.5	13.3	13.0	30.5	(9,569)
Total	73.8	5.9	4.2	3.1	12.4	(237,055)

TABLE 4.21 B. Toronto

Ethnic Group	Frequency of Language Use					(N)
	Every Day	Often	Occ.	Rarely or Never	Insufficient Conversational Knowledge	
Chinese	80.2	6.2	6.8	0.0	6.8	(19,377)
Dutch	38.9	3.9	23.4	10.7	23.0	(37,586)
German	41.1	10.3	15.3	10.2	23.2	(119,730)
Greek	87.7	2.7	3.5	2.7	2.0	(56,371)
Hungarian	53.8	7.7	18.7	11.9	7.9	(18,267)
Italian	82.3	2.9	3.1	3.1	8.0	(207,691)
Polish	43.0	6.9	24.7	6.8	16.4	(31,426)
Portuguese	88.6	7.6	0.5	0.8	2.5	(41,039)
Scandinavian	15.5	7.0	19.5	12.8	45.2	(15,891)
Ukrainian	35.1	22.0	12.1	15.8	15.0	(46,741)
Total	63.7	6.8	9.6	6.5	13.0	(594,117)

TABLE 4.21 C. Winnipeg

Frequency of Language Use						
Ethnic Group	Every Day	Often	Occ.	Rarely or Never	Insufficient Conversational Knowledge	(N)
Chinese	69.8	0.0	15.4	4.7	10.1	(2,126)
Dutch	—	—	—	—	—	(9,317)
German	37.1	11.7	15.7	5.2	25.9	(53,382)
Greek	—	—	—	—	—	(1,009)
Hungarian	64.2	2.3	12.3	4.6	13.7	(2,201)
Italian	—	—	—	—	—	(2,516)
Polish	31.7	5.6	12.3	13.4	34.4	(17,873)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	—	(2,171)
Scandinavian	6.1	0.0	14.2	7.7	66.0	(9,656)
Ukrainian	36.6	10.3	13.3	3.8	29.5	(58,349)
Total	34.9	10.1	13.7	6.4	29.5	(158,599)

TABLE 4.21 D. Edmonton

Frequency of Language Use						
Ethnic Group	Every Day	Often	Occ.	Rarely or Never	Insufficient Conversational Knowledge	(N)
Chinese	—	—	—	—	—	(5,827)
Dutch	30.6	17.0	23.8	13.9	14.8	(9,828)
German	14.9	25.0	11.9	15.1	33.2	(32,175)
Greek	—	—	—	—	—	(731)
Hungarian	—	—	—	—	—	(1,654)
Italian	—	—	—	—	—	(3,902)
Polish	30.4	8.5	15.6	11.3	33.2	(9,253)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	—	(1,271)
Scandinavian	—	—	—	—	—	(10,296)
Ukrainian	42.0	11.9	15.2	13.9	16.4	(45,163)
Total	31.5	15.9	13.5	12.0	26.8	(120,101)

TABLE 4.21 E. Vancouver

Ethnic Group	Frequency of Language Use					(N)
	Every Day	Often	Occ.	Rarely or Never	Insufficient Conversational Knowledge	
Chinese	90.2	1.4	4.2	2.6	1.6	(26,850)
Dutch	24.7	5.1	33.2	17.4	19.6	(15,734)
German	34.2	3.8	17.9	12.2	31.9	(79,243)
Greek	—	—	—	—	—	(4,703)
Hungarian	33.9	0.0	14.6	22.6	28.8	(3,116)
Italian	49.3	20.3	3.6	5.4	21.4	(31,313)
Polish	23.9	3.7	12.6	10.7	47.0	(13,755)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	—	(4,891)
Scandinavian	7.8	5.9	11.4	12.5	61.5	(32,287)
Ukrainian	18.9	10.8	20.2	20.5	29.6	(21,834)
Total	38.1	6.8	13.7	11.2	30.0	(233,725)

the Greeks and Chinese, whose use is high in each city, and for the Hungarians, whose use is moderately high in each city. The Portuguese are adequately represented in only one city, Toronto, so no comparisons are possible for that group. Most of the other groups had one particular city in which use was substantially less frequent. For the Germans it is Edmonton, and for the Dutch, Italians and Ukrainians it is Vancouver. The Poles present a more complicated picture: language use for them is highest in Montreal, less in Toronto, still less in Winnipeg and Edmonton, and least in Vancouver.

B. Context of Use of Non-Official Languages The place of the non-official languages in Canadian life cannot be understood without some knowledge of the specific social contexts in which those languages are used. Of course, ethnic differentiation at a minimum is based on kinship, and it is expected that the greatest use will be found in the home among members of the immediate family or with close relatives such as parents and siblings. But to what extent does non-official language use extend beyond the home, into informal social interaction and more formal contexts such as the church and place of employment? What role does non-official language use in the media of communication, including press, radio, and television, play in the lives of ethnic group members? And finally, in which contexts is the non-official language used as the exclusive means of communication? The following section will be addressed to these questions, and will be divided into three parts: use in social interaction, use by ethnic press readers, and use by radio and television audiences.

Use in Social Interaction Respondents in all ten groups were asked which language they would use if speaking to each of the following: father, mother, spouse, brothers, sisters, other relatives, close friends, co-workers and classmates, the grocer, the doctor, and the clergyman. The overall distribution of responses is presented in

TABLE 4.22 Language use in speaking to various types of persons

Type of person	Language Use			(N)
	Total Percent Using the Non-Official Language	Percent Using the Non-Official Language Exclusively	Percent Using Both the Non-Official Language and English or French	
Family*	74.9	30.8	44.1	(1,343,590)
Close Friends	49.6	24.6	25.0	(1,343,595)
Clergy	35.5	27.8	7.7	(1,343,592)
Grocer	21.9	11.4	10.5	(1,343,589)
Doctor	20.4	13.9	6.5	(1,343,589)
Classmates/ Co-Workers	18.0	5.9	12.1	(1,343,592)

(*Respondents were asked about language use with their father, mother, spouse, brothers, sisters and relatives on each side of their family. The percentages include respondents reporting some use, or exclusive use, with at least one family member).

Table 4.22. As expected, greatest use takes place among family members: three out of four respondents use the ethnic language in that context (note that, for the moment, repondents are not distinguished according to levels of non-official language knowledge.) Outside the home, the greatest use is in conversation with close friends. Such use is reported by half the respondents. One-third use the language in conversation with clergymen, and one-fifth in conversations with doctors, grocers, and classmates or co-workers. It is evident that non-official language use takes place primarily in informal contexts; the formal institutions of Canadian society are of course dominated by the official languages. The main exception is the church, the organization which is most important in the formal organization of ethnic communities. But language use in other formal contexts is far from negligible. In particular, the fact that nearly one in five respondents use the language among co-workers suggests significant penetration into major insititutions of society.

Use of the ethnic language is as likely as not to be mixed with use of one of the official languages. For example, among those who use the ethnic language in conversation with family members, less than half use the ethnic language exclusively with any one family member (see columns two and three in Table 4.22). This suggests that the home is not always a true ethnic language “domain” in the sense that the use of the language is required for meaningful participation. Instead, in many cases it seems that the ethnic language does give way to the official languages even in the home. Exclusive use of the ethnic language is relatively most frequent in conversations with clergy—27.8 percent report exclusive use as opposed to only 7.7 percent who use both official and non-official languages in that context. This is an extremely interesting finding. The fact that in the context of religion, only the ethnic language seems appropriate, may reveal a great deal about the symbolic importance of the church in ethnic community life.

TABLE 4.23 Percentages reporting at least some use of the non-official language in speaking to various types of persons, by language knowledge (N)

Type of Person	Language Knowledge	
	Fluent	Some Knowledge
Family*	98.0 (675,345)	70.9 (483,147)
Close Friends	74.9 (675,347)	33.3 (483,147)
Clergy	51.2 (675,347)	27.3 (483,147)
Grocer	29.8 (675,346)	18.8 (483,145)
Doctor	28.7 (675,345)	16.7 (483,145)
Classmates/ Co-Workers	26.2 (675,348)	13.7 (483,147)

* See note to Table 4.22

The impact of partial language loss on use in various contexts is indicated by the data in Table 4.23. In most contexts, use by those with only some language knowledge occurs about half as often as use by those who are fluent. The exception is the context of the family. Use in the family is nearly universal among those who are fluent, but 70.9 percent of those with only some language knowledge use that language in conversations with family members. Compared with other contexts, use in the home is relatively invulnerable to language loss.

The group-by-group breakdown for context of use is presented in Table 4.24. Obviously, language use in all contexts is very much affected by the level of language knowledge in a particular ethnic group. What is of interest in Table 4.24 is the extent to which language use in a particular group is concentrated among family members or penetrates into social circles outside the home.

There are a number of interesting comparisons to be made. For example, among Greeks, Italians, Portuguese and Ukrainians, the ethnic language is used in conversations with clergymen only somewhat less frequently than it is with family or friends, and far more frequently than it is used in other contexts. The situation is the reverse for the Chinese, who use the language more often with co-workers, doctors and grocers than with clergymen. Still, substantial use of the ethnic language with co-workers can be seen not only for Chinese (33.5 percent) but also for Portuguese (37.3 percent), Greeks (33.0 percent), Italians (26.9 percent), and even Ukrainians (16.3 percent) and Hungarians (15.7 percent). In some groups, language use seems to be mostly concentrated in the home and relatively infrequently extends to even close friends outside the home. This is true among the Dutch, Germans, Hungarians, Poles and Scandinavians. However, language use with co-workers, doctors and grocers occurs for nearly 10 percent of the Germans and Poles, but not at all for the Scandinavians and Dutch.

TABLE 4.24 Percentages reporting at least some use of the non-official language in speaking to various types of persons, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Type of Person						(N)
	Family*	Close Friends	Clergy	Grocer	Doctor	Classmates/ Co-Workers	
Chinese	92.3	77.8	27.5	36.4	37.3	33.5	(57,636)
Dutch	68.9	27.3	5.0	0.6	6.3	0.6	(76,637)
German	61.5	29.8	14.8	6.7	9.2	9.3	(303,637)
Greek	93.5	81.1	84.0	37.2	32.7	33.0	(88,642)
Hungarian	85.0	46.0	36.7	8.0	31.3	15.7	(34,866)
Italian	89.7	67.4	49.9	43.1	33.1	26.9	(382,501)
Polish	63.7	35.4	20.9	6.5	8.8	7.2	(91,066)
Portuguese	97.7	88.3	62.7	52.4	34.6	37.3	(57,365)
Scandinavian	32.6	12.6	7.2	0.0	0.3	0.7	(69,353)
Ukrainian	66.5	40.5	40.9	8.2	13.9	16.3	(181,654)
Total	74.9	49.6	35.5	21.9	20.4	18.0	(1,343,590)

*See note to Table 4.22

TABLE 4.25 Percentages reporting at least some use of the non-official language in speaking to various types of persons, by ethnic group, fluent respondents only

Ethnic Group	Type of Person						(N)
	Family*	Close Friends	Clergy	Grocer	Doctor	Classmates/ Co-Workers	
Chinese	100.0	95.7	36.3	48.1	50.7	40.3	(30,484)
Dutch	97.7	45.5	9.9	0.5	11.8	0.3	(37,648)
German	97.1	54.8	27.9	11.9	16.8	14.3	(150,638)
Greek	97.3	91.9	88.8	41.4	37.5	36.7	(69,865)
Hungarian	96.6	66.9	49.9	12.5	40.4	23.2	(22,401)
Italian	99.8	82.4	56.9	47.5	35.0	33.6	(228,393)
Polish	96.9	76.0	46.3	10.3	16.9	18.3	(32,593)
Portuguese	100.0	90.4	59.2	47.3	18.7	26.2	(31,925)
Scandinavian	94.1	52.2	28.5	0.0	1.5	3.1	(15,641)
Ukrainian	94.3	86.1	84.6	18.6	38.0	37.4	(55,757)
Total	98.0	74.9	51.2	29.8	28.7	26.2	(675,345)

*See note to Table 4.22

TABLE 4.26 Percentages reporting exclusive use of the non-official language in speaking to various types of persons, by ethnic group, fluent respondents only

Ethnic Group	Type of Person						(N)
	Family*	Close Friends	Clergy	Grocer	Doctor	Classmates/ Co-Workers	
Chinese	60.0	48.6	29.9	23.6	30.8	17.4	(30,484)
Dutch	21.8	12.2	0.3	0.0	8.4	0.0	(37,648)
German	25.6	13.5	15.0	3.5	4.7	0.4	(150,638)
Greek	63.9	48.3	81.5	16.0	25.6	9.8	(69,865)
Hungarian	44.1	48.6	45.1	10.0	31.0	11.5	(22,401)
Italian	48.2	49.5	49.6	27.1	25.7	10.3	(228,393)
Polish	55.8	40.2	24.6	4.4	5.7	2.9	(32,593)
Portuguese	50.2	54.0	49.1	25.0	13.7	8.9	(31,925)
Scandinavian	30.2	9.6	9.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	(15,641)
Ukrainian	31.9	39.3	61.4	7.3	27.4	11.0	(55,757)
Total	42.4	37.2	40.2	15.0	18.5	7.2	(675,345)

*See note to Table 4.22

The pattern of use among those who are fluent in the non-official language can be seen in Table 4.25. Among these respondents, use in the home is virtually universal in all groups. Use among close friends is nearly universal for Chinese (95.7 percent), Greeks (91.9 percent), and Portuguese (90.4 percent), and is very frequent among Italians (82.4 percent) and Ukrainians (86.1 percent). Most of the patterns which emerged for all respondents are the same when only fluent respondents are considered. However, it is worth noting that among Germans, Poles, Scandinavians and Ukrainians, language use in the church is very much more frequent among those who are fluent. This indicates that language loss is much more strongly associated with reduced use of the language in the church for these groups than it is for the Chinese, Greeks, Italians and Portuguese.

Exclusive use of the ethnic language among those who are fluent indicates the extent to which the language is either required or preferred over other languages. In Table 4.26, it can be seen that exclusive use in the family varies a great deal from group to group. For example, among the fluent Chinese, Greeks, Italians, Poles and Portuguese, at least half or nearly half use the language exclusively with at least one family member. The Dutch, Germans, Scandinavians and Ukrainians are much more inclined to make use of both the ethnic language and English or French in conversations with family members. Rates of exclusive use in the church are also of interest. For the fluent Chinese, Greeks, Hungarians, Italians and Portuguese, exclusive use with clergymen is reported by most of those who used the language at all in that context, while the fluent Dutch, Germans, Poles, Scandinavians and Ukrainians were more likely to mix languages in church.

TABLE 4.27 Percentages having read a non-official language newspaper or bulletin during the preceding year, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Readership			(N)
	Yes	No	No Language Knowledge	
Chinese	72.2	24.1	3.7	(57,636)
Dutch	47.4	34.8	17.8	(76,637)
German	45.3	34.0	20.7	(303,874)
Greek	56.1	42.9	1.0	(88,642)
Hungarian	52.9	38.8	8.4	(34,866)
Italian	58.6	34.8	6.6	(382,500)
Polish	38.6	37.7	23.8	(91,066)
Portuguese	42.4	54.4	2.3	(57,365)
Scandinavian	23.2	31.5	45.3	(69,353)
Ukrainian	34.6	54.1	11.3	(181,653)
Total	48.1	38.3	13.6	(1,343,591)

The extent to which the non-official languages are used as the exclusive means of communication outside the home, friendship circles and the church is worthy of note. Nearly one in five (17.4 percent) of the fluent Chinese use **only** the ethnic language to communicate with co-workers, and about one in ten of the Greeks, Hungarians, Italians, Portuguese and Ukrainians do so. About one in four fluent Chinese, Italians and Portuguese use the language exclusively in conversations with grocers. And about three in ten fluent Chinese, Greeks, Hungarians, Italians and Ukrainians use the language exclusively in conversations with the family doctor.

These data indicate that penetration of the ethnic language into institutional sectors outside the close circles of family, friends and church is highly variable from group to group and undoubtedly reflects the differing structures of ethnic communities in different ethnic groups.

Use Among Ethnic Press Readers Canadians of all ethnic groups appear to have a good supply of newspapers written in the ancestral language. Clearly, some knowledge of the language is needed to read such publications, so persons having no knowledge of the ethnic language were not asked any questions about them. Almost half of all respondents read newspapers or bulletins in their ancestral language at some time during the year preceding the data collection (see Table 4.27). Thus, use of the language in the ethnic press is less common than use in the home, but about as common as use among friends, and more common than use in many contexts of social interaction.

Easily the largest rate of ethnic press readership was found among the Chinese, 72.2 percent. More than half of all Italians (58.6 percent), Greeks (56.1 percent) and Hungarians (52.9 percent) indicated readership. Readership is perhaps surprisingly

TABLE 4.28 Percentages reading non-official language newspapers or bulletins at varying degrees of frequency, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Frequency of Readership				(N)
	Regularly	Occasionally	Rarely	Never*	
Chinese	33.6	30.5	8.2	27.8	(57,636)
Dutch	13.0	20.6	13.9	52.6	(76,637)
German	19.3	14.7	11.3	54.7	(303,872)
Greek	26.3	18.8	11.0	43.9	(88,642)
Hungarian	23.9	16.4	11.1	47.1	(34,866)
Italian	24.4	22.4	11.1	41.6	(382,501)
Polish	21.4	12.0	4.4	61.4	(91,066)
Portuguese	18.1	17.5	5.5	57.6	(57,365)
Scandinavian	9.9	8.8	3.9	76.8	(69,353)
Ukrainian	20.2	9.5	4.9	65.2	(181,652)
Total	21.3	17.1	9.3	51.9	(1,343,590)

*Includes those with no knowledge of the ethnic language.

high among the Dutch (47.4 percent) and low among the Poles (38.6 percent) and the Ukrainians (34.6 percent).

Regular readership is reported by 21.3 percent overall, slightly less than half of the readers (see Table 4.28). Most of the other readers (17.1 percent of the total) reported occasional readership, while the remainder (9.3 percent) said they read the ethnic press only rarely. Highs among regular readership are reported by Chinese (33.6 percent), Greeks (26.3 percent), Italians (24.4 percent), Hungarians (23.9 percent) and Poles (21.4 percent). Lowest regular readership was reported by Scandinavians (9.9 percent), Dutch (13.0 percent) and Portuguese (18.1 percent). Chinese, had the highest percentage of respondents reading the publications occasionally (30.6 percent) and Scandinavians the lowest (8.8 percent). Clearly, the Chinese ethnic publications play a major role in the Chinese language community.

The length of time respondents have been reading ethnic publications in Canada is reported in Table 4.29. Length of readership is, of course, affected by the length of time respondents have been in Canada, and should not be read as an indication of current strength of the ethnic press. (The data in Table 4.29 may be usefully compared to data in Table 3.12 on the length of time immigrants in the sample have lived in Canada.) However, it is notable that almost a quarter of all respondents have read ethnic publications in Canada for more than ten years. Furthermore, readership of greater than two years duration reached almost 40 percent of the sample. By contrast, readership of only two years or less accounted for only about 6 percent of all respondents. Implicit in the results is the point that, once established, readership of the ethnic publications continues over a long period. Long-time readership is particularly marked among Hungarians, Ukrainians, Italians, Germans and Dutch.

Table 4.29 Percentages having read non-official language newspapers or bulletins for various lengths of time, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Length of Readership						Never Read	(N)
	Less Than 1 Yr.	1 Yr.	2 Yrs.	3-5 Yrs.	6-10 Yrs.	More Than 10 Yrs.		
Chinese	9.9	9.3	7.7	18.0	6.9	19.6	27.8	(57,636)
Dutch	5.1	1.1	3.4	9.0	2.2	23.4	52.6	(76,637)
German	1.4	1.4	2.3	7.3	7.2	24.6	54.7	(303,872)
Greek	0.8	5.5	4.3	19.9	7.3	14.4	43.9	(88,642)
Hungarian	2.2	0.6	3.1	1.7	6.4	34.2	47.8	(34,866)
Italian	1.3	2.1	2.5	10.1	12.5	27.2	41.6	(382,501)
Polish	1.5	2.4	2.5	5.5	6.7	18.4	61.4	(91,066)
Portuguese	5.4	4.6	7.2	5.7	11.9	5.9	56.8	(57,365)
Scandinavian	0.5	0.4	1.7	3.8	2.8	13.2	76.8	(69,353)
Ukrainian	0.0	0.8	1.0	3.9	1.3	27.4	65.4	(181,652)
Total	1.9	2.2	2.8	8.5	7.6	23.2	51.9	(1,343,590)

Readership of the ethnic press obviously is very much affected by language fluency. Table 4.30 shows that level of fluency explains many of the group differences in readership. The Chinese have the highest readership rates, regardless of language fluency. But the previously noted differences between the Italians, Greeks, Hungarians and Dutch on the one hand, and the Poles, Ukrainians and Scandinavians on the other, are largely eliminated when fluency is taken into account. In each group, approximately two-thirds of the fluent members are readers of the ethnic press.

Regular readership of the ethnic press is another matter. There are substantial differences among ethnic groups in regular readership, even after level of fluency is taken into account. Among those who are fluent (see Table 4.31), regular readership is most common among the Poles (74.0 percent), Ukrainians (62.4 percent) and Greeks (52.8 percent). Just under half of the fluent Chinese, Germans, Portuguese and Scandinavians, but only one in four of the fluent Dutch, are regular readers.

Use Among Radio and Television Audiences Interest in ethnic programming on radio and television has grown in recent years, particularly with the advent of cable television. However, the availability of such programming is quite limited in many locations. In the interviews, respondents were asked whether they knew of any ethnic programming available locally, and subsequent questions were posed in terms of this known programming. Comparison of the responses with evidence on the actual availability of ethnic programming is planned by the research staff of the Canadian Radio and Television Commission.

TABLE 4.30 Percentages having read a non-official language newspaper or bulletin during the preceding year, by ethnic group and language knowledge (N)

Ethnic Group	Language Knowledge	
	Fluent	Some Knowledge
Chinese	96.6 (30,484)	48.7 (25,042)
Dutch	75.3 (37,648)	31.8 (25,168)
German	74.7 (150,638)	28.5 (87,861)
Greek	62.1 (69,865)	35.1 (17,991)
Hungarian	65.0 (22,401)	37.4 (9,070)
Italian	73.9 (228,393)	42.6 (129,922)
Polish	73.3 (32,593)	29.7 (37,796)
Portuguese	56.2 (31,925)	26.6 (24,111)
Scandinavian	67.2 (15,641)	27.0 (20,623)
Ukrainian	84.6 (55,757)	14.8 (105,560)
Total	73.5 (675,345)	30.9 (483,145)

TABLE 4.31 Percentages reading non-official language newspapers or bulletins at varying degrees of frequency, by ethnic group and language knowledge

Frequency of Readership					
Ethnic Group	Language Knowledge	Regularly	Sometimes	Rarely	(N)
Chinese	Fluent	47.6	47.7	4.7	(29,448)
	Some Knowledge	43.9	28.8	27.3	(12,186)
Dutch	Fluent	28.4	39.9	31.8	(28,356)
	Some Knowledge	23.9	55.6	20.5	(8,003)
German	Fluent	48.7	28.0	23.3	(112,493)
	Some Knowledge	15.4	52.3	32.3	(25,026)
Greek	Fluent	52.8	31.1	16.1	(43,385)
	Some Knowledge	6.8	49.9	34.4	(6,312)
Hungarian	Fluent	43.5	33.3	19.7	(14,557)
	Some Knowledge	58.5	25.5	16.0	(3,396)
Italian	Fluent	40.9	39.6	18.1	(168,788)
	Some Knowledge	44.1	33.8	21.4	(55,308)
Polish	Fluent	74.0	16.1	7.0	(23,887)
	Some Knowledge	15.7	63.3	21.1	(11,227)
Portuguese	Fluent	46.3	42.8	6.8	(17,928)
	Some Knowledge	32.2	37.2	30.6	(6,402)
Scandinavian	Fluent	48.9	36.2	12.7	(10,515)
	Some Knowledge	31.4	41.2	25.0	(5,560)
Ukrainian	Fluent	62.4	27.0	10.7	(47,190)
	Some Knowledge	46.2	29.5	24.3	(15,656)
Total	Fluent	47.4	34.3	17.4	(496,545)
	Some Knowledge	34.0	40.4	25.3	(149,076)

Radio is still the most widely used outlet for ethnic programming. Only about one in four (23.5 percent) of our respondents reported that no radio programs are locally available for their group (see Table 4.32, note that the question was not asked of respondents having no knowledge of their ethnic language). Nevertheless the situation varied markedly from group to group. Radio programs were most generally known to Greeks, Italians and Portuguese—only between 10 and 15 percent indicated that no programs were locally available. Least availability was reported by the Chinese, Hungarians and Scandinavians—about half the members of these groups said that no programs were available (this was nearly all of the Scandinavians who were asked).

Listenership, among those who were aware of local ethnic radio programs and who have at least some knowledge of the ethnic language, is fairly evenly divided between regular listeners, occasional listeners, and those who rarely or never listen. In our total sample, 23.5 percent were regular listeners, and it may be concluded that ethnic radio is rather less important than the ethnic press as a medium of communication for

TABLE 4.32 Percentages listening to known non-official language radio programs at varying degrees of frequency, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Frequency of Listenership						(N)
	No Non-Official Language Radio Programs Known in Area	Regularly	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	No Language Knowledge	
Chinese	45.5	16.5	17.8	8.2	8.1	3.7	(57,636)
Dutch	29.9	6.1	12.5	19.0	14.4	17.8	(76,637)
German	24.8	19.2	15.7	10.6	8.3	21.5	(303,877)
Greek	9.7	35.9	31.6	11.0	9.3	1.0	(88,642)
Hungarian	58.3	8.0	11.0	3.2	10.5	8.4	(34,866)
Italian	10.0	38.4	18.8	10.6	15.4	6.6	(382,503)
Polish	32.0	6.9	14.1	7.8	14.5	23.9	(91,066)
Portuguese	15.3	25.4	37.0	8.4	10.7	2.3	(57,365)
Scandinavian	41.6	1.2	2.2	2.9	4.7	47.3	(69,353)
Ukrainian	31.6	22.1	19.9	9.1	5.9	11.3	(181,656)
Total	23.5	23.5	18.1	9.9	10.8	13.9	(1,343,599)

Canadian ethnic groups. Listenership is most avid among the Greeks, Italians and Portuguese. Apparently programs for these groups are not only widely available but popular as well. On the other hand the Dutch, Hungarians and Poles seem uninterested in even those programs they know to be available. Among Scandinavians, the radio audience is essentially non-existent.

More radio programs were available and known to respondents in the fluency group and they reported an overall regular listening rate of 41.9 percent (Table 4.33). Highest in percentage of regular listeners were Ukrainians (58.3 percent), but many Italians (46.9 percent), Germans (44.6 percent), Greeks (38.7 percent) and Chinese (34.0 percent) were regular listeners. Only 15.2 percent of the fluency group claimed never to listen to radio programs in their ethnic language.

Greeks (45.7 percent) were the most frequent listeners to ethnic radio programs among the group with some knowledge of the language. Italians (44.1 percent) and Portuguese (34.6 percent) were the next most frequent users of such programs. In all, 28.9 percent of respondents knowing some non-official language listen regularly to broadcasts and another 27.3 percent listen sometimes.

Television programs for ethnic groups are much less readily available than radio programs. As Table 4.34 shows, excluding those who have no knowledge of the ethnic language (and were therefore not asked about ethnic television), more than half the respondents reported no available programming (46.3 percent). Ethnic television is

TABLE 4.33 Percentages listening to known non-official language radio programs at varying degrees of frequency, by language knowledge

Frequency of Listenership						
Ethnic Group	Language Knowledge	Regularly	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	(N)
Chinese	Fluent	34.0	42.2	11.8	12.1	(15,944)
	Some Knowledge	30.8	26.3	21.2	20.6	(13,369)
Dutch	Fluent	15.4	23.7	35.1	24.8	(27,246)
	Some Knowledge	3.5	24.1	38.8	33.3	(12,864)
German	Fluent	44.6	27.8	16.4	11.1	(127,020)
	Some Knowledge	4.3	33.5	31.1	30.5	(36,565)
Greek	Fluent	38.7	35.0	13.8	10.4	(63,556)
	Some Knowledge	45.7	36.7	6.5	10.5	(15,747)
Hungarian	Fluent	23.4	34.6	7.8	31.8	(10,054)
	Some Knowledge	27.6	22.4	21.0	29.0	(1,570)
Italian	Fluent	46.9	25.9	9.5	17.6	(207,209)
	Some Knowledge	44.1	16.2	18.7	19.8	(112,693)
Polish	Fluent	24.0	32.4	12.3	27.8	(22,334)
	Some Knowledge	4.9	29.0	22.6	36.2	(19,204)
Portuguese	Fluent	28.1	51.2	11.1	9.6	(27,729)
	Some Knowledge	34.6	36.1	8.9	18.0	(19,525)
Scandinavian	Fluent	0.0	20.9	38.3	40.8	(4,022)
	Some Knowledge	23.2	19.6	12.7	44.4	(3,637)
Ukrainian	Fluent	58.3	27.5	5.2	9.0	(48,060)
	Some Knowledge	21.9	41.1	25.3	11.4	(55,788)
Total	Fluent	41.9	29.6	12.9	15.2	(553,172)
	Some Knowledge	28.9	27.3	21.4	21.0	(290,960)

essentially nonexistent for the Dutch, Germans, Poles, Scandinavians and Ukrainians. Most programming is available again for the Greeks, Italians and Portuguese, and it is again in these groups that it is most popular. Among the Italians, for example, 79.2 percent indicated that programs were available, and 35.0 percent—more than half of those aware of programs—were regular viewers. By contrast, only 37.0 percent of the Chinese were aware of any local television programs for Chinese, and of these only 9.0 percent, or one in four of those aware of programs, were regular listeners. And among Hungarians, 38.0 percent were aware of programs, and of these only 7.7 percent, or less than one in five, were regular listeners.

SECTION 3 — SUPPORT FOR NON-OFFICIAL LANGUAGE RETENTION

One of the main purposes of this study is to investigate popular support for non-official language retention. What are the attitudes of Canada's non-official language groups

TABLE 4.34 Percentages viewing known non-official language television programs at varying degrees of frequency, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	No Non-Official Language Television Programs Known in Area	Frequency of Viewership					(N)
		Regularly	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	No Language Knowledge	
Chinese	57.8	9.0	11.3	4.2	12.5	3.7	(57,636)
Dutch	81.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.7	17.8	(76,637)
German	55.6	1.0	3.0	8.9	8.7	22.5	(303,873)
Greek	21.9	26.5	22.7	20.5	4.7	1.0	(88,642)
Hungarian	52.4	7.7	14.5	7.8	8.0	8.4	(34,866)
Italian	13.6	35.0	20.6	12.9	10.7	6.5	(382,503)
Polish	65.8	1.2	0.9	1.3	5.8	23.9	(91,066)
Portuguese	39.1	11.2	14.5	8.9	19.5	2.3	(57,365)
Scandinavian	52.0	0.0	0.2	0.4	0.0	47.3	(69,353)
Ukrainian	82.0	2.8	1.9	1.0	0.9	11.3	(181,650)
Total	46.3	13.5	9.9	8.1	7.5	14.1	(1,343,590)

towards the maintenance and use of their group's language in Canada?
Every respondent in the sample was asked this question:

How desirable do you think it is for _____
(group)
in Canada to speak _____?
(language)

with the appropriate group name and group language inserted. The reponse options were then listed: "very desirable," "somewhat desirable," "neither desirable nor undesirable," "somewhat undesirable," or "very undesirable." Their responses provide an overall indication of support for the idea of language retention. This section will: (1) describe the distribution of these responses within each of the ten sampled ethnic groups; (2) probe the meaning of these responses by analysing reasons given for support or nonsupport of language retention and the perceived importance of language retention relative to other group concerns; (3) analyse some social determinants of support for language retention; and (4) examine various ethnic organizations and media to see what impact they have on the ethnic group and how their actual and potential impact on language retention is perceived by ethnic group members.

A. Numbers of Persons Supporting Language Retention Support for retention of the non-official language appears to be widespread among Canada's metropolitan

TABLE 4.35 Number of persons with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Attitude Toward Language Retention				(N)
	Very Desirable	Somewhat Desirable	Indifferent	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	
Chinese	22,388	23,212	6,030	6,006	(557,636)
Dutch	6,484	31,867	27,001	11,285	(76,637)
German	66,572	133,297	76,097	27,704	(303,670)
Greeks	48,130	25,148	8,698	6,665	(88,642)
Hungarian	6,045	17,863	6,964	3,770	(34,866)
Italian	151,416	139,553	56,543	33,059	(380,570)
Polish	17,791	47,667	19,665	5,943	(91,066)
Portuguese	16,758	22,478	9,253	6,779	(57,365)
Scandinavian	9,756	27,406	23,050	9,011	(69,223)
Ukrainian	54,909	83,031	35,785	7,440	(181,165)
Total	400,248	551,521	269,088	117,664	(1,340,839)

ethnic groups. While this was not unexpected, the degree of very strong desire and support for the concept of retention of the non-official language was markedly present and there is clear evidence that the vast majority of the Canadian ethnic groups sampled are not opposed to such retention. Based on our sample, it is estimated that nearly a million persons in the sampled adult populations — nearly one-twentieth of Canada’s adult population—expressed support for the idea of language retention, and of these, over 400,000 persons expressed strong support. Our detailed sample-based estimates are presented in Table 4.35.

Among the nearly one million supporters (“very desirable” and “somewhat desirable” combined), we find approximately 290,000 Italians, 200,000 Germans and 140,000 Ukrainians. Most of those who were not in favour of language retention were simply indifferent, rather than opposed. Approximately 270,000 respondents from all groups were estimated to be indifferent towards language retention, while an estimated 118,000 were opposed (“somewhat undesirable” and “very undesirable” combined). These first figures on a Canadian sample are quite impressive in that they illustrate the degree to which the non-English or -French origin members of our society attach importance to retaining languages which have only very limited currency in the larger society.

B. Proportions Supporting Language Retention Support for language retention expressed as a percentage of the total is presented in Table 4.36. Over all groups, an overwhelming majority—71.0 percent—feels that language retention is desirable. The 71.0 percent represents the total of those feeling it is “very desirable” (29.9 percent) and those feeling it is “somewhat desirable” (41.1 percent). (These two categories are distinguished in all tables in this section, though the discussion in the text frequently will

TABLE 4.36 Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by ethnic group

Attitude Toward Language Retention					
Ethnic Group	Very Desirable	Somewhat Desirable	Indiff.	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	(N)
Chinese	38.8	40.3	10.5	10.5	(57,636)
Dutch	8.5	41.6	35.2	14.7	(76,637)
German	21.9	43.9	25.1	9.2	(303,670)
Greek	54.3	28.4	9.8	7.5	(88,642)
Hungarian	17.3	51.2	20.0	10.8	(34,866)
Italian	39.8	36.7	14.9	8.7	(380,570)
Polish	19.5	52.3	21.6	6.5	(91,066)
Portuguese	29.2	39.2	16.1	11.8	(57,365)
Scandinavian	14.1	39.6	33.3	13.0	(69,223)
Ukrainian	30.3	45.8	19.8	4.1	(181,165)
Total	29.9	41.1	20.1	8.8	(1,340,833)

refer to the total percent supporting language retention.) Less than 10 percent feel that language retention is either “somewhat undesirable” or “very undesirable,” while the remaining 20 percent are indifferent.

There is great variation among groups in support of language retention, but the supporters are a majority in all groups. About three out of four Chinese, Greeks, Italians, Poles and Ukrainians are in favour of language retention; two out of three Germans, Hungarians and Portuguese; and one out of two Dutch and Scandinavians. Among the five groups in which support is most widespread, the Greeks have the highest proportion expressing **strong** support (54.3 percent), followed by the Italians (39.8 percent), Chinese (38.8 percent), Ukrainians (30.3 percent) and Poles (19.5 percent). In the three groups having somewhat less widespread support, the Portuguese had the highest proportion (29.2 percent), followed by the Germans (21.9 percent) and the Hungarians (17.3 percent).

Opposition to language retention was uniformly low in all groups. Although there were major group differences in the extent of support, in each group most of those who were not in favour were simply indifferent. The greatest opposition was among the Dutch (14.7 percent), and the Scandinavians (13.0 percent). Least opposition was expressed by Ukrainians (4.1 percent) and Poles (6.5 percent).

C. Consensus and Polarization in Attitudes Towards Language Retention

One way to describe the distribution of attitudes towards language retention is in terms of the degree to which there is consensus as opposed to polarization within each group. In the data, we measure the degree of polarization using the standard deviation score based on a four-point scale in which 1 is “very desirable” and 4 is “undesirable”. A large

TABLE 4.37 Average opinion and degree of polarization of non-official language support, by ethnic group*

Ethnic Group	Average Opinion (Mean — a low mean indicates greater support)	Polarization (Standard Deviation)
Chinese	1.93	0.95
Dutch	2.56	0.84
German	2.21	0.89
Greek	1.71	0.93
Hungarian	2.28	0.98
Italian	1.92	0.94
Polish	2.15	0.81
Portuguese	2.33	1.46
Scandinavian	2.45	0.89
Ukrainian	1.98	0.82
Total	2.09	0.95

*The statistics reported in this table were obtained by assigning numbers to responses according to the following rules: 1 — Very Desirable; 2 — Somewhat Desirable; 3 — Indifferent; 4 — Somewhat or Very Undesirable.

standard deviation would indicate a polarization of attitudes, while a small standard deviation indicates a degree of group consensus on language retention.

Table 4.37 presents both the mean and standard deviation for each group's response to the question on language retention. Clearly Greeks, Chinese, Italians and Ukrainians have a high degree of group consensus which views language retention as highly desirable. There is some degree of importance in this finding since it will be found throughout the study that these four groups consistently follow a pattern of support for language retention in almost all relevant subgroups. Were the study to have been done on these four groups alone, there would have been overwhelming support for language retention. The Germans, Hungarians and Poles exhibit approximately the same degree of consensus viewing language retention as moderately desirable. The Dutch and Scandinavians exhibit again the same degree of consensus that language retention is only somewhat desirable, or irrelevant.

The most polarized group on the question of language retention is the Portuguese. Their standard deviation is 1.46, which is very much higher than all other groups (range 0.81 to 0.98). Portuguese respondents as a group have very mixed reactions to the question of desirability of language retention.

These data obtained from Portuguese respondents are very interesting. They are a quite recently arrived group and it is possible that the degree of disagreement reflects the effort of individuals to establish themselves in the larger society. It is likely that the battle to learn the adopted language is still a major task. It will be very interesting to observe changes, if any, in Portuguese attitudes as the group becomes more well-established in Canadian society.

D. Relative Importance of Language Retention and Other Group Concerns It is tempting to conclude at this point that there exists in Canada a very strong demand for non-official language retention. But support for the principle of language retention might not reflect any deeply felt concerns when not expressed in conjunction with any alternative proposition, or with any implied costs. One wonders how language issues rate in importance among the other issues with which an ethnic group may be confronted. Does language represent merely a “motherhood” issue which fades when hard issues of financial, personal or group commitment are formulated?

Respondents in our sample were asked to rate the seriousness of various problems confronting ethnic groups. These included: restricted educational opportunities, loss of ethnic traditions, loss of interest in traditional religion, job discrimination, social isolation from the rest of society, and restricted opportunities to learn English and French, as well as language loss. These ratings were made at the outset of the interview, before it became apparent to respondents that the main focus of the interview would be on language. Thus, at the time the question was asked, the respondents knew only that they were being interviewed because of their ethnic background. They should not have felt any pressure to name one kind of problem rather than another. It turned out that overall, none of the problems were rated as “serious” by a majority of the respondents. This may mean that the respondents tended to be satisfied with the position of their group in Canadian society, but it may also mean that they were reluctant to complain about problems to an interviewer. In any case, for the present purpose we are interested in the **relative** seriousness of problems.

Table 4.38 presents the ratings, and shows that language loss was the problem most often mentioned as “very serious” (by 12.3 percent of all respondents). Language loss was also most often mentioned as a “somewhat serious” problem (by 21.1 percent of all respondents). Overall, about one-third of the respondents felt that language loss was a somewhat serious or very serious problem for their ethnic group. Only a minority (42.5 percent) felt that language loss was “not a problem.” The problem next-most-often mentioned as “very serious” was discrimination by employers. A total of 19.3 percent mentioned this problems as either “very serious” or “somewhat serious,” but a majority—58.9 percent—thought it was “not a problem.” Loss of ethnic traditions and customs, and loss of interest in traditional religion, also were relatively frequently mentioned problems. There seemed to be general agreement (74.5 percent) that there were sufficient opportunities to learn English, most (58.3 percent) thought the same about French, and most (68.8 percent) felt that there was enough chance to obtain education beyond high school.

It would appear that, overall, no really serious problems have been indicated by the study but that, in a generally satisfied sample, loss of the ethnic language was the major current problem.

On a group-by-group basis, it is found that language loss is the most important “very serious” problem for each group except the Italians (who were somewhat more concerned about job discrimination) and the Portuguese (who were more concerned about job discrimination, loss of ethnic traditions and religion, and social isolation—see Table 4.39). Most of the Portuguese are very recent immigrants and one might expect them to consider problems other than language loss as more pressing. Yet even in that group the problem of language loss is not dismissed. Only 35.8 percent regarded it as “not a problem.”

The Chinese appear to be most seriously concerned by the decreasing use of the language. There are many problems bothering the Chinese, including social isolation, job discrimination, loss of traditions and other problems. But of all these problems, they most often mention decreasing use of the Chinese language as “serious.” The Chinese

TABLE 4.38 Percentages rating each possible problem confronting members of their own ethnic group at varying degrees of seriousness (N = 1,343,587)

Problem (In order presented to Respondents)	Problem Seriousness			
	Very Serious	Somewhat Serious	Not Very Serious	Not a Problem
Not Enough Opportunities for Education Beyond High School	5.1	7.6	12.4	68.8
Loss of Ethnic Traditions and Customs	7.5	15.9	23.9	48.0
Loss of Interest in Traditional Religion	7.5	15.1	16.9	54.5
Discrimination by Employers	8.1	11.2	16.4	58.9
Decreasing Use of Ethnic Language	12.3	21.1	20.0	42.5
Ethnic Group Too Much Apart	4.9	12.5	18.8	59.9
Not Enough Opportunities to Learn English	5.3	7.1	7.8	74.5
Not Enough Opportunities to Learn French	5.2	9.3	9.7	58.3

responses should be viewed in the context of the possible disintegration of “Chinatowns” in Vancouver and Toronto as inner city development occurs and taxes rise, resulting in loss of ethnic traditions and customs. The Chinese respondents indicated substantially more concern on almost every question than did any other group in the study.

After the Chinese, Ukrainians most frequently mentioned language loss as a problem. This may reflect the special political circumstances involved in postwar Ukrainian immigration. The results support those who suggest that the dominance of the Russian language in the Soviet Union has made language retention particularly important to Ukrainians in Canada. Despite this, almost 31 percent considered that no problem existed at all and another 20 percent were not overly worried. The significant factor lies in the relationship of language loss to the other problems mentioned. Compared to the Chinese, for example, the Ukrainians mentioned few problems **other** than language. They did mention loss of ethnic traditions and loss of interest in traditional religion, but they are relatively little bothered by job discrimination or social isolation. In this same context, it is interesting to note that in those groups which reported least language knowledge and use, and least support for language retention—such as the Dutch and Scandinavian groups—respondents listed language loss as the most serious problem, and this probably reflects the lack of any other serious problems, rather than a consuming interest in language.

TABLE 4.39 Percentages rating each possible problem confronting their own ethnic group at varying degrees of seriousness, by ethnic group
A. Chinese (N = 57,636)

Problem (in order presented to Respondents)	Very Serious	Somewhat Serious	Not Very Serious	Not a Problem
Not Enough Opportunities For Education Beyond High School	9.3	5.4	19.2	59.0
Loss of Ethnic Traditions and Customs	6.2	34.3	27.3	29.4
Loss of Interest in Traditional Religion	10.1	12.4	22.6	45.9
Discrimination by Employers	15.4	23.5	35.4	22.5
Decreasing Use of Ethnic Language	24.6	28.1	21.5	23.5
Ethnic Group too Much Apart	17.7	23.5	26.4	27.8
Not Enough Opportunities to Learn English	17.6	9.0	11.5	56.3
Not Enough Opportunities to Learn French	11.9	14.6	11.4	40.4

B. Dutch (N = 76,637)

Not Enough Opportunities For Education Beyond High School	0.0	1.3	8.8	85.3
Loss of Ethnic Traditions and Customs	4.8	13.2	20.0	55.3
Loss of Interest in Traditional Religion	4.3	10.0	13.5	65.9
Discrimination by Employers	1.1	4.0	5.6	88.0
Decreasing Use of Ethnic Language	9.0	17.9	10.3	57.4
Ethnic Group too Much Apart	3.6	6.1	15.8	71.6
Not Enough Opportunities to Learn English	0.6	2.1	5.2	86.5
Not Enough Opportunities to Learn French	7.8	4.2	5.0	72.2

TABLE 4.39 C. Germans (N = 303,871)

Problem (in order presented to Respondents)	Very Serious	Somewhat Serious	Not Very Serious	Not a Problem
Not Enough Opportunities For Education Beyond High School	0.6	2.4	11.8	81.6
Loss of Ethnic Traditions and Customs	4.0	13.1	22.2	57.7
Loss of Interest in Traditional Religion	3.5	10.9	20.7	57.3
Discrimination by Employers	4.6	6.5	15.3	68.9
Decreasing Use of Ethnic Language	11.7	18.3	18.3	48.5
Ethnic Group too Much Apart	2.3	8.9	16.3	68.5
Not Enough Opportunities to Learn English	1.4	4.4	5.5	84.1
Not Enough Opportunities to Learn French	4.4	7.0	11.0	65.9

D. Greeks (N = 88,642)

Not Enough Opportunities For Education Beyond High School	12.2	13.4	15.2	57.1
Loss of Ethnic Traditions and Customs	15.2	19.8	21.5	38.9
Loss of Interest in Traditional Religion	9.9	15.2	10.8	60.4
Discrimination by Employers	9.5	15.3	19.2	47.2
Decreasing Use of Ethnic Language	13.9	26.5	17.6	40.4
Ethnic Group too Much Apart	8.1	16.8	18.0	49.4
Not Enough Opportunities to Learn English	7.3	9.3	8.7	73.0
Not Enough Opportunities to Learn French	5.8	20.1	11.1	46.9

TABLE 4.39 E. Hungarians (N = 34,866)

Problem (in order presented to Respondents)	Very Serious	Somewhat Serious	Not Very Serious	Not a Problem
Not Enough Opportunities For Education Beyond High School	0.7	8.2	10.7	72.8
Loss of Ethnic Traditions and Customs	9.3	6.4	20.6	52.2
Loss of Interest in Traditional Religion	2.0	10.4	11.5	70.9
Discrimination by Employers	3.6	9.7	14.0	67.3
Decreasing Use of Ethnic Language	3.2	22.2	26.5	43.2
Ethnic Group too Much Apart	4.0	12.8	21.7	55.4
Not Enough Opportunities to Learn English	3.6	6.3	9.8	75.1
Not Enough Opportunities to Learn French	1.4	9.0	7.8	68.3

F. Italians (N = 382,501)

Not Enough Opportunities For Education Beyond High School	9.8	13.5	13.1	56.5
Loss of Ethnic Traditions and Customs	9.5	12.0	29.3	44.8
Loss of Interest in Traditional Religion	11.4	17.1	14.1	53.5
Discrimination by Employers	15.2	17.4	16.4	44.4
Decreasing Use of Ethnic Language	13.1	17.2	22.4	44.4
Ethnic Group too Much Apart	7.2	18.4	21.5	50.2
Not Enough Opportunities to Learn English	10.6	10.7	10.2	63.8
Not Enough Opportunities to Learn French	7.4	10.6	11.4	46.7

TABLE 4.39 G. Poles (N = 91,066)

Problem (in order presented to Respondents)	Very Serious	Somewhat Serious	Not Very Serious	Not a Problem
Not Enough Opportunities For Education Beyond High School	2.9	7.4	11.0	70.2
Loss of Ethnic Traditions and Customs	7.0	13.4	21.8	51.3
Loss of Interest in Traditional Religion	4.7	13.0	19.4	58.9
Discrimination by Employers	6.8	6.6	18.0	63.3
Decreasing Use of Ethnic Language	7.0	27.1	21.0	35.8
Ethnic Group too Much Apart	4.0	8.2	20.3	64.7
Not Enough Opportunities to Learn English	0.7	2.4	14.2	75.7
Not Enough Opportunities to Learn French	1.3	6.8	13.5	64.8

H. Portuguese (N = 57,365)

Not Enough Opportunities For Education Beyond High School	3.3	8.9	13.1	53.4
Loss of Ethnic Traditions and Customs	8.3	11.3	24.0	47.0
Loss of Interest in Traditional Religion	5.7	16.6	25.4	44.7
Discrimination by Employers	10.0	10.7	17.4	51.8
Decreasing Use of Ethnic Language	7.6	10.4	31.5	35.8
Ethnic Group too Much Apart	8.1	16.8	20.4	43.9
Not Enough Opportunities to Learn English	4.5	10.7	4.7	71.5
Not Enough Opportunities to Learn French	4.2	10.2	7.5	40.8

TABLE 4.39 I. Scandinavians (N = 69,353)

Problem (in order presented to Respondents)	Very Serious	Somewhat Serious	Not Very Serious	Not a Problem
Not Enough Opportunities For Education Beyond High School	0.0	2.4	9.7	82.6
Loss of Ethnic Traditions and Customs	5.6	13.0	19.5	55.0
Loss of Interest in Traditional Religion	5.6	8.4	10.3	65.7
Discrimination by Employers	0.0	0.2	7.0	88.3
Decreasing Use of Ethnic Language	11.9	16.7	10.5	51.6
Ethnic Group too Much Apart	0.6	2.9	8.5	84.8
Not Enough Opportunities to Learn English	2.5	2.5	2.4	82.2
Not Enough Opportunities to Learn French	2.7	7.8	3.2	70.6

J. Ukrainians (N = 181,651)

Not Enough Opportunities For Education Beyond High School	4.8	6.0	12.3	73.7
Loss of Ethnic Traditions and Customs	7.6	27.8	20.4	41.0
Loss of Interest in Traditional Religion	9.3	25.0	18.9	40.3
Discrimination by Employers	3.1	10.3	18.2	65.1
Decreasing Use of Ethnic Language	13.9	32.2	20.7	30.7
Ethnic Group too Much Apart	0.5	7.6	18.3	70.0
Not Enough Opportunities to Learn English	1.5	7.4	5.3	79.5
Not Enough Opportunities to Learn French	2.6	7.2	6.6	70.8

TABLE 4.40 Summary table: percentages rating each possible problem confronting their own ethnic group as “very serious,” by ethnic group

Problem (in order presented to Respondents)	Ethnic Group									
	Chin.	Dutch	Ger.	Greek	Hung.	Ital.	Pol.	Port.	Scan.	Uk.
Not Enough Opportunities For Education Beyond High School	9.3	0.0	0.6	12.2	0.7	9.8	2.9	3.3	0.0	4.8
Loss of Ethnic Traditions and Customs	6.2	4.8	4.0	15.2	9.3	9.5	7.0	8.3	5.6	7.6
Loss of Interest in Traditional Religion	10.1	4.3	3.5	9.9	2.0	11.4	4.7	5.7	5.6	9.3
Discrimination by Employers	15.4	1.1	4.6	9.5	3.6	15.2	6.8	10.0	0.0	3.1
Decreasing Use of Ethnic Language	24.6	9.0	11.7	13.9	3.2	13.1	7.0	7.6	11.9	13.9
Ethnic Group Too Much Apart	17.7	3.6	2.3	8.1	4.0	7.2	4.0	8.1	0.6	0.4
Not Enough Opportunities To Learn English	17.6	0.6	1.4	7.3	3.6	10.6	0.7	4.5	2.5	1.5
Not Enough Opportunities To Learn French	11.9	7.8	4.4	5.8	1.4	7.4	1.3	4.2	2.7	2.6

Despite its position as the leading problem among those listed in the interviews, it can hardly be said that decreasing use of the language is an overriding concern among members of non-official language groups. Decreasing use of the non-official language is considered somewhat or very serious by only 26.9 percent of Dutch, 30.0 percent of Germans, 40.4 percent of Greeks, 25.4 percent of Hungarians, 30.3 percent of Italians, 34.1 percent of Poles and 28.6 percent of Scandinavians. All but 18.0 percent of Portuguese saw it as “not very serious” or as “no problem.”

In general, it seems evident that among the varying concerns of the metropolitan ethnic groups, language retention is among the most prominent — if not the most prominent — for all groups except the Portuguese. Table 4.40 presents data

TABLE 4.41 Percentages giving various reasons for the desirability of language retention, by attitude toward language retention

Most Important Reasons for Desirability of Non-Official Language Retention						
Attitude toward Language Retention	Trad. Maint.	Comm. Needs	Value as 2nd Lang.	Other	No Reason	(N)
Favourable	23.5	26.8	34.5	9.0	6.0	(951,774)
Indifferent	12.7	13.2	27.0	4.8	42.3	(269,088)
Opposed	5.1	17.7	18.0	2.0	57.2	(117,663)
Total	19.7	23.3	31.5	7.5	17.8	(1,338,525)

of a summary nature on the group-by-group ratings of problems perceived as “very serious.”

E. Reasons Given for Non-Official Language Support To properly assess the meaning of existing support for language retention, it is necessary to inquire into the reasons people give for that support. In the interviews, before respondents were asked their opinion on language retention, they were asked to state any reasons they might have for feeling it to be desirable for members of their ethnic group to speak the group’s language, and any reasons for feeling it to be undesirable. Likely types of replies had been established from the questionnaire pretests (see Chapter III) and these were available to the interviewer (for the purpose of coding the response), but they were not provided for the respondent.

Three reasons for the desirability of non-official language use were most common: its value in maintaining group traditions, its value in communication with group members, and its general value as a second language. Other reasons included its value as a personal cultural attribute, its usefulness when travelling, its mind-broadening qualities and others. Few respondents gave such reasons, and they are not separately identified in this report. In Table 4.41 it can be seen that, of all respondents who expressed support for language retention, 34.5 percent saw its greatest value in its usefulness as a second language, 26.8 percent felt it necessary for communication, and 23.5 percent considered it most desirable as a means for maintaining group traditions and culture.

It is noteworthy that so few respondents mentioned the value of the language in maintaining the traditions of the ethnic group. But the finding does not necessarily imply that maintenance of ethnic traditions is unimportant to most respondents; or that language is not seen as being a vital aspect of this culture maintenance. For example, many of those who mention the value of the language in communication may be immigrants who are very dependent on the non-official language in their daily living. It might not occur to them to emphasize the relation between language and ethnic traditions, precisely because ethnic community life would be inconceivable without the group language. Other respondents mentioning either the value of the language in communication, or the general value of a second language, may have been reluctant to give other, non-instrumental, reasons as the best justification for language retention. They may feel that language is important to group tradition, but that other benefits are more persuasive in legitimating language retention to an interviewer. In any case, the

TABLE 4.42 Ethnic groups in which one-third or more of those in favour of language retention give each reason as most important

Reasons for Desirability of Non-Official Language Retention	Ethnic Groups in Which One-Third or More Give Reason	Percent Giving Reason	(N)
Tradition Maintenance	Chinese	38.4	(45,599)
	Greek	35.9	(73,278)
	Ukrainian	35.1	(137,940)
Communication Needs	Portuguese	40.5	(39,236)
	Italian	37.7	(290,971)
Value as Second Language	Dutch	47.0	(38,351)
	German	46.8	(199,870)
	Scandinavian	37.0	(37,162)
	Italian	36.1	(290,971)
	Polish	34.9	(65,458)

interview question did not elicit widespread mention of maintenance of ethnic tradition as the most important reason for continued use of the non-official language in Canada.

Those who turned out to be opposed to language retention tended (not surprisingly) to give no reason for thinking it desirable. But if they saw any redeeming value in language retention, it was because of the general value of a second language.

Reasons for language support varied from group to group. Table 4.42 shows the most commonly mentioned reasons given by each group of respondents generally favourable to language retention. Chinese, Greeks and Ukrainians generally placed a higher premium than did others on the value of language in the maintenance of group cultural traditions, although in no case did more than 40 percent give this reason. Portuguese were strongly inclined to consider the role of their language in communication between members as the most important reason for its retention, while Dutch, Germans, Scandinavians and Poles felt it to be best justified as a second language. Italians were more evenly split between the latter two reasons.

Reasons given for thinking language retention to be undesirable are presented in Table 4.43. Among those generally in favour of language retention, most (82.2 percent) mentioned no undesirable aspects. But it is important that 9.0 percent felt the use of the ancestral language might prevent mixing with other Canadians. Some sensitivity to possible negative effects of the language use on relationships with other Canadians may be indicated. It is hard to know what is involved here. There may be only an awareness that others become uncomfortable when they cannot understand a conversation. On the other hand, there may be a concern that language retention inhibits relationships with other groups. The latter possibility of course implies the greater disadvantage. Again, only 9 percent gave this response, but this percentage is drawn specifically from those in favour of language retention.

Those indifferent to language retention also tended to mention no undesirable aspects. Their middle position on language retention truly does reflect indifference, rather than ambivalence. Note that more than half had given reasons for favouring

TABLE 4.43 Percentages giving various reasons for the undesirability of language retention, by attitude toward language retention

Most Important Reasons for Undesirability of Non-Official Language Retention					
Attitude Toward Language Retention	Prevents Mixing	No Need	Other	No Reason	(N)
Favourable	9.0	3.0	4.9	82.2	(951,765)
Indifferent	11.4	6.3	6.6	75.6	(269,088)
Opposed	38.1	19.6	9.2	32.9	(117,663)
Total	12.1	5.1	5.7	76.5	(1,338,516)

language retention, but few gave counterbalancing reasons for opposition. Evidently, they simply see the issue as unimportant.

Not surprisingly, those who (on the subsequent question) turned out to be opposed to language retention more often found negative aspects to point out. Thirty-eight percent suggested that non-official language preservation may prevent mixing with other Canadians, 19.6 percent considered retention unnecessary and 9.2 percent gave a variety of other reasons. Again, the mixing question is most prominent as the problem inherent in language retention. Sensitivity to this negative aspect is of particular significance in an avowedly multicultural society. Any steps taken to encourage language retention should take into account effects on Canadians of ethnic origin who may be opposed to language retention. They are the minority, but their concern has been quite clearly expressed. On the other hand, it is important that one-third of those opposing language retention give no reason at all. This tends to undercut the seriousness of their opposition.

Reasons for opposition varied from group to group. Table 4.44 summarizes the data for those opposed. More than half the Germans in this group (52.7 percent) together with 49.5 percent of Portuguese and 41.1 percent of Italians agreed that language preservation could cause lack of mixing with other Canadians. Nevertheless, it can be seen from Table 4.44 that seven of the ten groups had at least one-third of their respondents reporting that they had no reasons to provide regarding the undesirability of language retention.

F. Location of Support for Language Retention General support for non-official language retention is uniformly high across the five cities included in this study. Roughly, 65 to 75 percent felt language retention to be either "very desirable" or at least "somewhat desirable" in each city (see Table 4.45). However, the strongest and most widespread support was found in Montreal, where 77.5 percent were favourable, and 42.5 percent were very favourable (in the other cities only about 25 percent were very favourable.) Montreal also had the lowest percentage of respondents reporting opposition to language retention.

The city-by-city comparison may be made for each group, in Table 4.46. There are a number of differences concealed by the overall uniformity. For example, the Chinese in Vancouver exhibit more widespread support for language retention (85 percent) than

TABLE 4.44 Ethnic groups in which one-third or more of those opposed to language retention give each reason as most important

Reasons for Undesirability of Non-Official Language Retention	Ethnic Groups in Which One-Third or More Give Reason	Percent Giving Reason	(N)
Prevents Mixing	German	52.7	(27,704)
	Portuguese	49.5	(6,779)
	Italian	41.1	(33,059)
	Chinese	35.7	(6,007)
	Scandinavian	35.5	(9,011)
No Need	None	—	—
No Reason	Hungarian	65.4	(3,770)
	Chinese	64.3	(6,007)
	Ukrainian	46.3	(7,440)
	Greek	41.1	(6,665)
	Dutch	40.7	(11,285)
	Scandinavian	33.7	(9,011)
	Italian	33.6	(33,059)

TABLE 4.45 Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by city

Attitude Toward Language Retention					
Cities	Very Desirable	Somewhat Desirable	Indiff.	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	(N)
Montreal	42.5	35.0	15.4	7.1	(237,056)
Toronto	28.8	42.4	18.9	9.5	(592,188)
Winnipeg	25.3	39.6	27.8	7.4	(157,775)
Edmonton	24.7	42.2	25.3	7.9	(120,101)
Vancouver	25.3	44.8	19.9	10.1	(233,725)
Total	29.9	41.1	20.1	8.8	(1,340,845)

do the Chinese in Toronto (68 percent). Polish support for language retention is most widespread in Montreal (95 percent), somewhat less widespread in Vancouver (73 percent) and least widespread in Edmonton (66 percent), Toronto (64 percent) and Winnipeg (62 percent). At the same time, the highest proportions of strong support among Poles are in Montreal and Winnipeg. The Germans, on the other hand, support language retention in roughly equal proportions in each city.

The general tendency for Montrealers more often to support language retention is in

TABLE 4.46 Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by city and ethnic group

A. Montreal

Attitude Toward Language Retention					
Ethnic Group	Very Desirable	Somewhat Desirable	Indifferent	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	(N)
Chinese	—	—	—	—	(3,455)
Dutch	—	—	—	—	(4,173)
German	21.0	43.9	30.6	4.5	(19,348)
Greek	44.8	35.2	5.4	14.5	(25,828)
Hungarian	24.9	46.4	17.4	11.3	(9,627)
Italian	47.4	30.1	15.6	6.8	(137,081)
Polish	35.1	60.2	4.6	0.0	(18,759)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	(7,992)
Scandinavian	—	—	—	—	(1,224)
Ukrainian	42.9	47.0	6.7	3.4	(9,569)
Total	42.5	35.0	15.4	7.1	(237,056)

TABLE 4.46 B. Toronto

Attitude Toward Language Retention					
Ethnic Group	Very Desirable	Somewhat Desirable	Indifferent	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	(N)
Chinese	30.0	38.5	11.0	20.6	(19,377)
Dutch	7.5	46.7	30.5	15.3	(37,586)
German	22.6	43.4	23.9	10.0	(119,730)
Greek	58.2	26.2	11.0	4.6	(56,371)
Hungarian	8.9	58.7	18.1	13.2	(18,267)
Italian	35.7	40.2	14.5	9.6	(205,761)
Polish	9.6	54.8	28.2	7.3	(31,426)
Portuguese	22.4	43.6	15.8	13.1	(41,039)
Scandinavian	20.6	26.1	43.3	10.0	(15,891)
Ukrainian	24.7	56.6	17.4	1.2	(46,741)
Total	28.8	42.4	18.9	9.5	(592,188)

TABLE 4.46 C. Winnipeg

Attitude Toward Language Retention					
Ethnic Group	Very Desirable	Somewhat Desirable	Indif-ferent	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	(N)
Chinese	45.6	15.5	36.4	2.5	(2,126)
Dutch	—	—	—	—	(9,317)
German	25.0	37.3	30.9	6.8	(53,177)
Greek	—	—	—	—	(1,009)
Hungarian	6.6	43.9	36.5	13.0	(2,201)
Italian	—	—	—	—	(2,516)
Polish	25.3	37.1	31.0	6.6	(17,873)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	(2,171)
Scandinavian	20.2	42.6	31.1	6.2	(9,526)
Ukrainian	29.4	41.1	21.7	7.8	(57,859)
Total	25.3	39.6	27.8	7.4	(157,775)

TABLE 4.46 D. Edmonton

Attitude Toward Language Retention					
Ethnic Group	Very Desirable	Somewhat Desirable	Indif-ferent	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	(N)
Chinese	—	—	—	—	(5,827)
Dutch	12.2	35.2	30.3	22.2	(9,828)
German	17.3	47.7	28.8	6.2	(32,175)
Greek	—	—	—	—	(731)
Hungarian	—	—	—	—	(1,654)
Italian	—	—	—	—	(3,902)
Polish	23.2	42.4	26.2	8.2	(9,253)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	(1,271)
Scandinavian	—	—	—	—	(10,296)
Ukrainian	33.2	42.3	21.6	2.9	(45,163)
Total	24.7	42.2	25.3	7.9	(120,101)

TABLE 4.46 E. Vancouver

Ethnic Group	Attitude Toward Language Retention				(N)
	Very Desirable	Somewhat Desirable	Indifferent	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	
Chinese	41.8	43.3	9.4	5.5	(26,851)
Dutch	12.0	38.1	39.6	10.3	(15,734)
German	20.9	47.4	20.0	11.6	(79,243)
Greek	—	—	—	—	(4,703)
Hungarian	38.7	38.9	22.3	0.0	(3,116)
Italian	34.8	40.2	12.3	12.7	(31,313)
Polish	11.0	62.4	14.3	12.3	(13,755)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	(4,891)
Scandinavian	12.2	46.8	29.6	11.5	(32,287)
Ukrainian	33.3	42.1	21.4	3.2	(21,834)
Total	25.3	44.8	19.9	10.1	(233,725)

part explained by the group-by-city distribution (e.g. the Dutch and Scandinavians, who less often support language retention, are located primarily in cities other than Montreal), but the tendency exists even within several of the groups: the Hungarians, the Italians, the Poles and the Ukrainians. Part of the reason for these results might be the special problems of ethnic origin groups in coping with a bilingual situation. Only Montreal of the cities studied has a truly bilingual situation in French and English. This does not mean that all Montrealers are, or need to be bilingual—such is clearly not the case—but it is quite likely that a member of an ethnic group might be prompted to support more strongly his own language of origin in a condition of some conflict between the two official languages. In other words, it may be that the lack of absolute dominance of French or English in Montreal leads to a stronger statement of support for the ancestral tongue.

G. Language Knowledge and Support for Language Retention Ethnic group members who themselves know their ethnic language would be expected to be among the strongest supporters of language retention. They have the most at stake in the issue. Data confirming this expectation are presented in Table 4.47. It can be seen that 76.2 percent of respondents reporting fluency also indicated a desire for language retention, as did 70.5 percent of respondents with some language knowledge and 52.9 percent of those with no language retention. But what is most striking in these data is the extent to which respondents whose ethnic language skills have been lost (or never acquired) support language retention. A majority are in favour, and less than one in seven are opposed. One might interpret this finding as support for language **diffusion** as well as language **retention**. Clearly, expressed support is not entirely dependent on a fluent, or even a moderate, knowledge of the language. Once again, however, it should be emphasized that these data reflect opinions, and not necessarily a willing-

TABLE 4.47 Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by language knowledge

Knowledge of the Non-Official Language	Attitude Toward Language Retention				(N)
	Very Desirable	Somewhat Desirable	Indiff.	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	
Fluency	35.1	41.1	15.8	7.9	(675,331)
Some Knowledge	29.0	41.5	21.1	7.9	(480,709)
No Knowledge	12.7	40.2	32.9	14.2	(184,772)
Total	29.9	41.1	20.1	8.8	(1,340,808)

ness to make the personal investment or effort needed for language acquisition. Nevertheless, the results are compelling in their consistency and in the obvious strength of the expressed support. At the same time, one should note that a persistent minority of persons fluent in their ethnic language are opposed to its retention by group members in Canada.

Table 4.48 provides information on group-by-group percentages of support, according to the degree of language knowledge. The overall between-group patterns and trends are maintained, indicating that they are not explained by group differences in language knowledge. Among those who reported fluency in their ethnic language, it is again the Chinese, Greeks, Italians, Poles and Ukrainians who are most often favourable to language retention, with between 75.1 and 83.5 percent in favour. The Germans, Hungarians, and Portuguese are again next, with between 70.4 and 74.9 percent in favour. The Dutch and Scandinavians are again last, with 55.5 percent and 47.3 percent, respectively. The Greeks again have the highest proportion expressing strong support (54.2 percent), followed now by the Ukrainians (48.4 percent) and the Portuguese (37.6 percent). The Ukrainians had ranked lower in overall strong support, and now we see that this was due in part to the lower fluency rate. Among the Dutch, only 7.4 percent expressed very favourable responses. The Dutch response here is consistent with their overall pattern in this study and in previous research. The small group reportedly in favour of strong support for language retention may well be representative of orthodox groups such as those referred to in Chapter II. The Dutch also had the highest percentage opposed to language retention (18.6 percent). The relatively high proportion of fluent Chinese opposed to language retention (16.3 percent) is also noteworthy.

Among respondents reporting some knowledge of the language, the same five groups — the Chinese, Greeks, Italians, Poles and Ukrainians — had the highest proportion in favour of language retention (between 74.0 and 92.8 percent). Germans, Hungarians and Portuguese were again next, joined this time by Scandinavians (among whom 73.0 percent were in favour.) Again, the Greeks had the highest proportion strongly in favour (55.0 percent), followed by the Italians (48.5 percent) and the Chinese (40.4 percent). But only 9.9 percent of the Hungarians and 7.5 percent of the Dutch agreed with them. Opposition to language retention was expressed by 17.5 percent of Hungarians, 16.7 percent of Portuguese and only 4.1 percent of Chinese.

As noted above, there was fairly widespread support for language retention among most groups whose respondents reported no knowledge of their ancestral tongue. But

TABLE 4.48 Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by language knowledge and ethnic group

A. Language knowledge: Fluent

Attitude Toward Language Retention					(N)
Ethnic Group	Very Desirable	Somewhat Desirable	Indiff.	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	
Chinese	39.3	35.8	8.6	16.3	(30,484)
Dutch	7.4	48.3	25.6	18.6	(37,648)
German	28.8	45.2	18.9	7.0	(150,639)
Greek	54.2	25.9	12.2	7.7	(69,865)
Hungarian	22.1	48.3	18.8	9.7	(22,401)
Italian	37.2	42.9	13.3	6.6	(228,394)
Polish	26.9	56.6	15.0	1.4	(32,593)
Portuguese	37.6	37.3	17.3	7.7	(31,925)
Scandinavian	22.8	24.5	34.6	18.2	(15,641)
Ukrainian	48.4	35.0	12.4	4.2	(55,757)
Total	35.1	41.1	15.8	7.9	(675,347)

TABLE 4.48 B. Language knowledge: Some knowledge

Attitude Toward Language Retention					(N)
Ethnic Group	Very Desirable	Somewhat Desirable	Indiff.	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	
Chinese	40.4	43.9	11.5	4.1	(25,042)
Dutch	7.5	39.3	46.9	6.3	(25,168)
German	13.2	45.9	30.5	10.4	(87,861)
Greek	55.0	37.8	0.0	7.2	(17,991)
Hungarian	9.9	52.9	19.7	17.5	(9,070)
Italian	48.5	27.1	16.8	7.7	(127,991)
Polish	22.0	52.5	15.2	10.3	(37,796)
Portuguese	19.0	40.1	15.4	16.7	(24,111)
Scandinavian	18.8	54.2	21.5	5.5	(20,624)
Ukrainian	25.0	49.0	21.6	4.3	(105,071)
Total	29.0	41.5	21.1	7.9	(480,726)

TABLE 4.48 C. Language knowledge: None

Attitude Toward Language Retention					
Ethnic Group	Very Desirable	Somewhat Desirable	Indiff.	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	(N)
Chinese	—	—	—	—	(2,110)
Dutch	13.0	27.4	40.2	19.4	(13,821)
German	17.8	38.3	31.9	12.1	(65,172)
Greek	—	—	—	—	(785)
Hungarian	5.7	65.9	28.3	0.0	(3,394)
Italian	18.1	29.1	18.6	34.3	(24,187)
Polish	3.5	45.3	43.6	7.7	(20,677)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	(1,329)
Scandinavian	7.0	37.6	40.1	15.3	(32,959)
Ukrainian	7.9	59.0	30.5	2.6	(20,338)
Total	12.7	40.2	32.9	14.2	(184,772)

this support was largely of moderate strength. A high of 59.0 percent among the Ukrainians to a low of 27.4 percent among the Dutch gave “somewhat desirable” response to language retention. Another large group, the Germans, were almost split between moderate favourability and indifference, as were Scandinavians and Poles. The opposition to language retention by Italians who have no knowledge of their ancestral language is by far the strongest unfavourable response found in the study. This response may represent those Italians whose efforts have been directed most strongly towards assimilation into the broader Canadian society.

H. Generational Differences in Support for Language Retention We have seen that there is considerable language loss from generation to generation. But language loss is associated with only a moderate weakening of support for language retention, and is not associated with any appreciable increase in opposition to language retention. It is therefore expected that increasing the number of generations since immigration leads to only moderate weakening in support for language retention, and very little increase in opposition to it. The relevant data are contained in Table 4.49. Support for language retention declines from 74.9 percent among immigrants to 66.4 percent in the second generation and 59.3 percent in the third. Only in the fourth generation is support reduced to less than a majority — 39 percent. This decline in overall support is due almost entirely to an erosion of very strong support, and an increase in indifference to language retention. The percentage feeling language retention to be “somewhat desirable” is over 40 percent in each generational group except for the small group beyond the third generation. The very small unfavourable group is interesting since it indicates no substantial hostility towards the language of origin on the part of the children of immigrants (second generation). On the other hand, there was no indication of any **return** to support among third generation respondents, who indicated a greater

TABLE 4.49 Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by generation

Attitude Toward Language Retention					
Generation	Very Desirable	Somewhat Desirable	Indiff.	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	(N)
First Generation	34.8	40.1	16.3	8.5	(909,804)
Second Generation	20.2	46.2	26.7	7.0	(277,780)
Third Generation	18.4	40.9	26.8	13.8	(128,091)
Older Families	15.6	23.4	49.2	11.8	(25,138)
Total	29.9	41.1	20.1	8.8	(1,340,807)

TABLE 4.50 Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by generation and ethnic group

A. First generation

Attitude Toward Language Retention					
Ethnic Group	Very Desirable	Somewhat Desirable	Indiff.	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	(N)
Chinese	38.9	39.5	11.6	10.0	(51,097)
Dutch	6.8	45.2	31.9	16.1	(53,841)
German	25.8	47.0	18.2	9.0	(190,749)
Greek	55.2	27.1	10.1	7.6	(84,877)
Hungarian	18.3	47.7	21.0	12.2	(28,930)
Italian	43.0	36.1	14.2	6.7	(312,414)
Polish	21.0	62.1	12.3	4.5	(44,115)
Portuguese	29.1	39.1	16.2	11.9	(57,053)
Scandinavian	17.4	33.3	36.0	13.4	(23,866)
Ukrainian	43.9	37.6	12.8	5.8	(62,888)
Total	34.8	40.1	16.3	8.5	(909,829)

degree of unfavourability towards retention than any other generational group.

In each generational group in which they are well represented, it is again the Chinese, Greeks, Italians, Poles and Ukrainians who exhibit the most widespread support for language retention (see Table 4.50). The Poles, Hungarians and Por-

TABLE 4.50 B. Second generation

Attitude Toward Language Retention					
Ethnic Group	Very Desirable	Somewhat Desirable	Indiff.	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	(N)
Chinese	—	—	—	—	(4,956)
Dutch	11.1	31.5	51.8	5.6	(11,638)
German	10.6	44.7	38.9	5.8	(53,626)
Greek	—	—	—	—	(3,076)
Hungarian	14.6	68.7	12.5	4.2	(5,235)
Italian	25.7	44.9	19.7	9.8	(50,707)
Polish	19.8	42.5	28.8	8.9	(37,261)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	(0)
Scandinavian	10.8	44.6	30.6	13.9	(30,866)
Ukrainian	26.3	50.4	20.4	2.9	(80,423)
Total	20.2	46.2	26.7	7.0	(277,786)

C. Third generation

Chinese	—	—	—	—	(1,197)
Dutch	10.2	51.8	29.0	9.1	(6,003)
German	23.2	37.3	26.0	13.5	(44,471)
Greek	—	—	—	—	(689)
Hungarian	—	—	—	—	(620)
Italian	—	—	—	—	(17,048)
Polish	12.8	45.8	34.5	6.9	(9,039)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	(0)
Scandinavian	16.7	38.4	34.8	10.2	(12,901)
Ukrainian	13.7	50.6	31.5	4.1	(36,125)
Total	18.4	40.9	26.8	13.8	(128,091)

tuguese again exhibit an intermediate level of support, and the Dutch and Scandinavians exhibit the least support. Thus, differences among groups in recency of immigration accounts for some, but definitely not all, of the group differences in support for language retention.

Some interesting exceptions to the overall pattern are worth noting. Among immigrants, the Portuguese and Hungarians exhibit almost as much opposition to language

retention (11.9 and 12.2 percent, respectively) as do the Dutch and Scandinavians (16.1 percent and 13.4 percent, respectively). On the other hand, in the second generation it is the Hungarians who are most generally in favour of language retention. In the third generation, both the Dutch and the Scandinavians show an increase in support for language retention. The reasons for these various deviations from the expected patterns are by no means clear.

I. Ethnic Self-Identification and Support for Language Retention One question which arises at this point is whether support for non-official language retention is simply a reflection of ethnic group self-identification, a variable which is also strongly related both to generational status and language knowledge. In the five-city sample there was considerable variation in ethnic identification: 17.3 percent identified themselves with a simple ethnic label (e.g. "Chinese," "Dutch," and so on), 44.5 percent identified themselves with a dual label (e.g. "Chinese-Canadian," or "Canadian of Chinese origin," and so on), and the remaining 35.4 percent identified themselves simply as "Canadians." To what extent does this ethnic self-identification account for expressed attitudes towards language retention?

Table 4.51 shows that there is indeed a fairly strong relationship between ethnic identification and support for language retention. Among those identifying themselves as ethnics, 83.5 percent support the idea of language retention (48.1 percent very strongly), and among those applying a dual label to themselves, 77.5 percent support language retention (35.3 percent very strongly). But among those choosing to identify themselves simply as Canadians, 57.7 percent support language retention (only 14.4 percent very strongly). However, what is perhaps more significant than the relation between ethnic identification and support for language retention is the fact that a majority of the self-defined "Canadians" did support language retention, and opposition was hardly greater than among the self-defined ethnics. In other words, most of those who think of themselves as Canadians do not see a conflict with the continued use of a non-official language in Canada.

This may be an extremely important indication of the way in which many ethnic group members in Canada define themselves in relation to the rest of society. To be a "Canadian" is not necessarily to reject one's ethnic ancestry and the culture it represents. Instead, one may become Canadian while continuing to support a distinctive

TABLE 4.51 Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by ethnic identification

Ethnic Identification	Attitude Toward Language Retention				(N)
	Very Desirable	Somewhat Desirable	Indiff.	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	
Ethnic	48.1	35.4	8.1	7.4	(232,315)
Ethnic-Canadian or Canadian of Ethnic Origin	35.3	42.2	16.6	5.8	(598,234)
Canadian	14.4	43.3	29.7	12.7	(473,030)

TABLE 4.52 Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by ethnic identification and ethnic group

A. Identification: ethnic label

Ethnic Group	Attitude Toward Language Retention				(N)
	Very Desirable	Somewhat Desirable	Indiff.	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	
Chinese	42.7	36.9	6.6	13.8	(21,864)
Dutch	10.2	47.2	42.7	0.0	(5,550)
German	34.8	63.4	1.8	0.0	(26,262)
Greek	72.1	23.0	1.0	3.9	(27,799)
Hungarian	—	—	—	—	(4,050)
Italian	56.5	27.8	8.2	7.4	(101,456)
Polish	—	—	—	—	(3,765)
Portuguese	31.2	29.5	17.5	12.7	(23,176)
Scandinavian	—	—	—	—	(4,242)
Ukrainian	—	—	—	—	(14,152)
Total	48.1	35.4	8.1	7.4	(232,315)

B. Identification: ethnic-Canadian or Canadian of ethnic origin

Chinese	35.1	42.8	13.2	8.8	(28,207)
Dutch	7.0	41.1	41.6	10.4	(24,782)
German	32.4	47.1	13.8	6.8	(108,920)
Greek	48.3	30.6	12.9	8.3	(49,066)
Hungarian	18.8	49.3	22.3	9.7	(17,559)
Italian	39.8	38.8	15.9	5.5	(199,198)
Polish	22.5	53.9	22.3	1.3	(37,178)
Portuguese	30.8	43.5	14.4	11.3	(30,329)
Scandinavian	25.6	51.7	19.9	2.9	(18,336)
Ukrainian	42.2	41.8	14.6	1.4	(84,661)
Total	35.3	42.2	16.6	5.8	(598,234)

ethnic culture and even the use of a non-official language in Canada. Enthusiasm for this culture and language may wane, but it rarely turns into rejection and hostility.

The findings reported in Table 4.51 are important for another reason. Recall that in Chapter III, the possibility was mentioned that the sample for the study could be biased to some degree against second and third generation ethnic group members who no

TABLE 4.52 C. Identification: Canadian

Ethnic Group	Attitude Toward Language Retention				(N)
	Very Desirable	Somewhat Desirable	Indiff.	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	
Chinese	—	—	—	—	(5,143)
Dutch	9.3	41.2	30.9	18.5	(44,948)
German	13.0	40.5	35.8	10.7	(152,209)
Greek	—	—	—	—	(11,311)
Hungarian	—	—	—	—	(12,650)
Italian	16.3	44.0	21.1	18.7	(72,747)
Polish	15.7	51.1	21.9	11.3	(46,106)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	(2,417)
Scandinavian	9.2	36.1	38.4	16.3	(44,945)
Ukrainian	16.1	48.3	28.8	6.8	(80,555)
Total	14.4	43.3	29.7	12.7	(473,030)

longer identify with their ethnic group. Reasons were given why such a bias, if it exists, is probably not serious. But still it could be argued that the strength of support for language retention found in the second and third generations is exaggerated by exclusion of the most assimilated. The data in Table 4.51 tend to refute this criticism, because they show majority support for language retention and little opposition, even among those who defined themselves as unhyphenated "Canadians."

Ethnic identification affects support for language retention in seven of the ten groups (see Table 4.52.) Two of the exceptions are the Chinese and the Portuguese, few of whom define themselves simply as "Canadians" in any case. But whatever their ethnic identification, the Chinese are extremely likely to support language retention. The Portuguese are less likely to support language retention, but there is little difference in this respect between those who identify themselves as Portuguese, and those who identify themselves as Portuguese-Canadians. The other exceptions are the Dutch, few of whom do not think of themselves as Canadian in some sense. Persons of Dutch origin who think of themselves simply as Canadians are no less likely to support language retention, although a somewhat larger percentage are opposed.

Among respondents identifying themselves as Canadians less than 17 percent of each group recorded strong support for language retention, although more than half of each group (except for Scandinavians) found it overall desirable. The highest percentages for strong support were registered by Italians (16.3 percent) and Ukrainians (16.3 percent) and the lowest by Dutch (9.3 percent) and Scandinavians (9.2 percent). Interestingly the highest percentages for opposition to language retention were registered also by Italians (18.7 percent) whereas very few Ukrainians (6.8 percent) felt language retention was undesirable and the next lowest percentage was recorded by the Chinese (9.7 percent).

TABLE 4.53 Percentages expressing various types of self-identification, by generation

Generation	Identification				(N)
	Ethnic	Ethnic-Canadian	Canadian of Ethnic Origin	Canadian	
First Generation	23.6	39.0	11.7	22.5	(910,450)
Second Generation	5.1	18.4	16.2	58.6	(279,717)
Third Generation	1.6	16.2	13.4	66.9	(128,091)

TABLE 4.54 Percentages expressing various types of self-identification, by generation and ethnic group

A. First generation

Ethnic Group	Identification				(N)
	Ethnic	Ethnic-Canadian	Canadian of Ethnic Origin	Canadian	
Chinese	42.8	40.2	8.5	5.1	(51,097)
Dutch	9.8	24.6	11.3	52.6	(53,841)
German	10.3	32.9	15.7	34.9	(190,749)
Greek	32.8	45.1	9.4	12.2	(84,877)
Hungarian	14.0	37.5	16.4	30.1	(28,930)
Italian	31.5	42.1	11.2	13.1	(312,414)
Polish	7.3	34.9	16.5	32.7	(44,115)
Portuguese	40.6	45.9	7.0	3.9	(57,053)
Scandinavian	13.1	17.9	5.8	58.1	(23,996)
Ukrainian	12.3	50.6	8.4	26.6	(63,378)
Total	23.6	39.0	11.7	22.5	(910,450)

Identification with an ethnic group is very much affected by the length of time, or the number of generations, one's family has been in Canada (see Table 4.53). Almost a quarter (23.6 percent) of the first generation group identified themselves with only an ethnic label; about half (50.7 percent) considered themselves as having some kind of dual identity; and nearly a quarter (22.5 percent) saw themselves simply as Canadians. In the second generation, only 5.1 percent described themselves as ethnics; 34.6 percent as having a dual identity; and over half—58.6 percent—described themselves as Canadians. By the third generation, almost none (1.6 percent) considered themselves to be ethnics; over a quarter (29.6 percent) still claimed a dual identity; but about two-thirds (66.9 percent) saw themselves as Canadians. In each generation group,

TABLE 4.54 B. Second generation

Ethnic Group	Identification				(N)
	Ethnic	Ethnic-Canadian	Canadian of Ethnic Origin	Canadian	
Chinese	—	—	—	—	(4,956)
Dutch	0.0	5.3	25.1	65.9	(11,638)
German	12.2	6.8	7.9	67.8	(53,626)
Greek	—	—	—	—	(3,076)
Hungarian	0.0	19.4	18.4	62.2	(5,235)
Italian	4.1	25.3	23.2	47.4	(52,638)
Polish	0.2	12.8	19.5	66.9	(37,261)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	(0)
Scandinavian	2.4	12.3	17.8	67.5	(30,866)
Ukrainian	6.0	24.4	14.4	54.6	(80,423)
Total	5.1	18.4	16.2	58.6	(279,717)

C. Third generation

Chinese	—	—	—	—	(1,197)
Dutch	0.8	17.4	2.5	79.3	(6,003)
German	0.0	2.8	13.4	80.3	(44,471)
Greek	—	—	—	—	(689)
Hungarian	—	—	—	—	(620)
Italian	—	—	—	—	(17,048)
Polish	4.8	2.9	24.8	67.5	(9,039)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	(0)
Scandinavian	2.9	12.9	12.1	70.1	(12,900)
Ukrainian	1.0	27.0	16.6	55.3	(36,125)
Total	1.6	16.2	13.4	66.9	(128,091)

there is a substantial proportion who identified with the ancestral home to some degree. Nevertheless, there is a very clear shift toward identification as a Canadian from generation to generation.

Within generational categories, there is still substantial variation in ethnic identification among the ten ethnic groups. Among immigrants, for example (Table 4.54), the groups with the highest proportions identifying themselves only as ethnics were the Chinese (42.8 percent), Portuguese (40.6 percent), Greeks (32.8 percent) and Italians

(31.5 percent). The groups having the lowest proportions identifying themselves as ethnics were the Poles (7.3 percent), Dutch (9.8 percent), Germans (10.3 percent), and Ukrainians (12.3 percent).

In the second generation, fewer groups are well-represented, but there is greater uniformity across groups (see Table 4.54). About two-thirds of the Dutch, Germans, Poles and Scandinavians saw themselves as Canadian. By contrast, only about half the Italians and Ukrainians saw themselves as Canadians. This between-group variation cannot be explained simply by the different sizes of the immigrant population in each ethnic community. The Ukrainians and Scandinavians are the groups having the lowest proportions of immigrants in the sample, and the proportion of Dutch who are immigrants is nearly as high as the proportion of Italians who are immigrants.

Within ethnic groups there is little difference between second and third generation respondents in the percentage reporting identification as Canadians. In the third generation two-thirds of the Germans, Poles and Scandinavians (see Table 4.54) identify themselves simply as Canadians, while only about half the Italians and Ukrainians do so.

There are many reasons why generational status is associated with ethnic identification — the power of the dominant cultures in commanding loyalty, the slow disappearance of ethnic traditions and language as they are at least partly displaced by Canadian language and customs, and so on. To what extent can the effect of generational status on support for language retention be explained by its various effects on ethnic identification? The answer can be learned by examining the residual effect of generation on language support, controlling for ethnic identification. In Table 4.55, it can be seen that among those identifying themselves as Canadians, the level of support for language retention is relatively low, regardless of generation status (this support is still over 50 percent in each case, however). Among those expressing dual identity, the level of

TABLE 4.55 Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by identification and generation

Attitude Toward Language Retention						
Identi- fication	Gener- ation	Very Desirable	Somewhat Desirable	Indif- ferent	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	(N)
Ethnic	First	49.7	33.4	8.3	7.5	(214,515)
	Second	20.8	67.5	5.3	6.4	(14,354)
	Third	—	—	—	—	(2,033)
Ethnic- Canadian or Canadian of Ethnic Origin	First	37.5	40.5	16.2	5.9	(460,921)
	Second	28.0	50.5	17.5	4.0	(96,757)
	Third	29.8	39.9	20.6	9.7	(37,845)
Canadian	First	14.3	47.6	23.8	14.3	(204,519)
	Second	15.7	41.4	33.8	9.0	(161,967)
	Third	13.0	42.4	29.1	15.5	(85,731)

TABLE 4.56 Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by identification, generation, and ethnic group
A. Ethnic label, first generation

Ethnic Group	Attitude Toward Language Retention				(N)
	Very Desirable	Somewhat Desirable	Indiff.	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	
Chinese	42.7	36.9	6.6	13.8	(21,864)
Dutch	—	—	—	—	(5,252)
German	46.3	51.2	2.5	0.0	(19,714)
Greek	72.1	23.0	1.0	3.9	(27,799)
Hungarian	—	—	—	—	(4,050)
Italian	56.6	28.3	8.1	7.0	(98,485)
Polish	—	—	—	—	(3,240)
Portuguese	31.2	29.5	17.5	12.7	(23,176)
Scandinavian	—	—	—	—	(3,139)
Ukrainian	—	—	—	—	(7,796)
Total	49.7	33.4	8.3	7.5	(214,515)

B. Ethnic-Canadian or Canadian of ethnic origin, first generation

Chinese	34.4	44.3	14.7	6.6	(24,884)
Dutch	5.7	47.5	34.3	12.6	(19,339)
German	31.1	48.6	13.9	6.5	(92,637)
Greek	49.0	28.5	13.6	8.8	(46,277)
Hungarian	20.9	44.4	23.9	10.9	(15,578)
Italian	42.5	37.4	15.5	4.6	(166,545)
Polish	21.6	63.0	14.8	0.7	(22,664)
Portuguese	31.0	43.2	14.4	11.3	(30,182)
Scandinavian	38.7	21.9	39.3	0.0	(5,677)
Ukrainian	56.5	28.5	15.0	0.0	(37,139)
Total	37.5	40.5	16.2	5.9	(460,921)

support is higher, about 75 percent, but it is unaffected by generational status. In other words, in these groups the effect of generational status on language support is almost completely accounted for by its effects on ethnic identification. Most of those who identified themselves using only an ethnic label were immigrants, and they express

TABLE 4.56 C. Canadian, first generation

Attitude Toward Language Retention					
Ethnic Group	Very Desirable	Somewhat Desirable	Indiff.	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	(N)
Chinese	—	—	—	—	(2,605)
Dutch	7.3	43.9	28.2	20.5	(28,325)
German	14.0	47.7	27.4	10.9	(66,485)
Greek	—	—	—	—	(10,335)
Hungarian	—	—	—	—	(8,696)
Italian	11.6	50.5	23.0	14.8	(40,930)
Polish	15.1	65.8	8.0	11.1	(14,432)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	(2,251)
Scandinavian	11.3	37.2	33.4	18.2	(13,810)
Ukrainian	21.9	48.0	13.2	17.0	(16,651)
Total	14.3	47.6	23.8	14.3	(204,519)

D. Ethnic-Canadian or Canadian of ethnic origin, second generation

Chinese	—	—	—	—	(2,719)
Dutch	—	—	—	—	(3,542)
German	42.1	43.9	11.1	2.9	(7,879)
Greek	—	—	—	—	(2,615)
Hungarian	—	—	—	—	(1,981)
Italian	20.2	48.6	22.7	8.4	(25,516)
Polish	28.1	45.0	25.9	1.0	(12,009)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	(0)
Scandinavian	22.8	64.9	9.9	2.4	(9,298)
Ukrainian	34.4	52.1	10.8	2.7	(31,199)
Total	28.0	50.5	17.5	4.0	(96,757)

very widespread support for language retention. The small group of second generation respondents who described themselves as ethnics expressed less strong — but not less widespread — language support. The residual effect of generational status on language support among persons identifying themselves as ethnics is probably not very important. One can conclude that, in general, language support is very much a function of ethnic identification, whatever social forces give rise to increased Canadian identification from generation to generation.

TABLE 4.56 E. Canadian, second generation

Attitude Toward Language Retention					
Ethnic Group	Very Desirable	Somewhat Desirable	Indiff.	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	(N)
Chinese	—	—	—	—	(1,599)
Dutch	—	—	—	—	(7,664)
German	5.4	35.6	50.9	8.1	(36,336)
Greek	—	—	—	—	(461)
Hungarian	—	—	—	—	(3,254)
Italian	30.7	43.3	16.6	9.4	(23,023)
Polish	16.0	41.9	29.2	12.8	(24,922)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	(0)
Scandinavian	5.1	37.2	39.5	18.3	(20,833)
Ukrainian	19.2	47.8	29.6	3.4	(43,915)
Total	15.7	41.4	33.8	9.0	(101,967)

Still, there are some important differences among ethnic groups in language support even for those in the same generational group, and having the same degree of ethnic identification (see Table 4.56). Among immigrants identifying themselves as ethnics, 80 percent or more, in each ethnic group except one, think language retention is desirable. The exception is the Portuguese, who are the only really ambivalent group — only 60 percent are in favour of language retention. Among immigrants identifying themselves with a double label, support ranges from 80 percent or more among Germans, Italians, Poles and Ukrainians to 60 percent among the Dutch and Scandinavians. The percentages expressing very strong support vary even more, from 56.5 percent among Ukrainians to only 5.7 percent among the Dutch. Among immigrants identifying themselves as Canadians, the percentages range from 80.9 percent among Poles to roughly 70 percent for Ukrainians, down to 50 percent for the Dutch and Scandinavians.

The relatively small number of second and third generation respondents identifying themselves as ethnics makes group-by-group analysis very uncertain. But interestingly, Table 4.56 shows that among second generation respondents applying the double label to themselves, the Scandinavians and Germans favoured language retention as often as the Ukrainians (about 85 percent of the cases) and more often than the Italians (at 68 percent) or the Poles (at 73 percent). Among the second generation respondents who see themselves as Canadians, one finds the usual pattern of greatest support among the Italians and Ukrainians, and least among the Dutch and Scandinavians.

In sum, support for language retention is strongly related to ethnic identification, but remains fairly high even among those identifying themselves as Canadians. It seems clear that some, though not all, of the variations between groups in support of language retention are explained by group differences in ethnic identification.

J. Education and Support for Language Retention Education has little overall effect on the total proportion supporting language retention. At each level of education, about 70 percent are in favour and less than 10 percent are opposed. But there is some tendency for the less-well-educated respondents more often to express very strong support, as opposed to mild support. As the data in Table 4.57 show, approximately 40

TABLE 4.57 Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by years of education

Attitude Toward Language Retention					
Years of Education	Very Desirable	Somewhat Desirable	Indiff.	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	(N)
13 years or more	23.6	49.9	16.9	9.7	(289,746)
9-12 years	24.1	43.2	23.6	9.1	(535,200)
8 years or less	39.3	34.1	18.2	7.9	(515,862)
Total	29.9	41.1	20.1	8.8	(1,340,805)

TABLE 4.58 Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by years of education and ethnic group

A. Education: 13 years or more

Attitude Toward Language Retention					
Ethnic Group	Very Desirable	Somewhat Desirable	Indiff.	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	(N)
Chinese	34.6	44.3	14.8	6.2	(29,673)
Dutch	8.5	47.6	36.9	7.0	(16,054)
German	18.2	47.5	23.2	11.1	(72,324)
Greek	—	—	—	—	(9,720)
Hungarian	23.2	56.1	14.6	6.2	(14,713)
Italian	26.3	46.4	8.8	18.4	(61,703)
Polish	21.7	54.3	17.8	6.2	(22,745)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	(3,485)
Scandinavian	13.1	51.3	30.6	5.0	(12,126)
Ukrainian	30.9	52.0	12.6	4.4	(47,207)
Total	23.6	49.9	16.9	9.7	(289,750)

TABLE 4.58 B. Education 9-12 years·

Attitude Toward Language Retention					
Ethnic Group	Very Desirable	Somewhat Desirable	Indiff.	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	(N)
Chinese	43.8	38.0	1.4	16.8	(15,753)
Dutch	11.0	38.7	33.9	16.3	(37,464)
German	21.2	42.5	27.1	9.2	(176,323)
Greek	58.1	20.8	10.1	11.0	(27,671)
Hungarian	10.9	55.0	19.5	14.7	(14,573)
Italian	25.7	49.3	15.8	9.2	(85,111)
Polish	20.3	51.5	22.1	6.0	(44,915)
Portuguese	41.1	50.1	3.8	5.0	(8,095)
Scandinavian	14.7	41.6	32.7	11.0	(40,228)
Ukrainian	26.9	42.3	27.0	3.9	(85,088)
Total	24.1	43.2	23.6	9.1	(535,221)

C. Education: 8 years or less

Chinese	42.8	33.3	11.6	12.2	(12,210)
Dutch	4.3	42.0	36.3	17.4	(23,120)
German	29.2	43.7	20.9	6.2	(55,026)
Greek	59.0	24.4	10.4	6.2	(51,250)
Hungarian	18.7	28.8	35.5	13.0	(5,580)
Italian	48.5	29.5	16.1	5.9	(233,759)
Polish	16.0	52.0	24.3	7.7	(23,406)
Portuguese	27.3	34.7	19.5	13.9	(45,785)
Scandinavian	13.5	26.3	36.8	23.5	(16,870)
Ukrainian	35.7	46.1	14.0	4.3	(48,871)
Total	39.3	34.1	18.2	7.9	(515,875)

percent of those with 8 years of education or less expressed strong support, as opposed to approximately 25 percent of those with 9 to 12 years of education or more.

In view of the weak overall effect of education on support for language retention, we would expect the overall group-by-group differences in support to be observed within each educational level. Table 4.58 shows that this expectation is, for the most part, fulfilled. For example, among respondents with 8 years of education or less, the Chinese (76.1 percent), Greeks (83.4 percent), Italians (78.0 percent) and Ukrainians

(81.8 percent) expressed the most widespread support for language retention, and also the strongest support (42.8, 59.0, 48.5, and 35.7 percent, respectively). The Scandinavians and Dutch at the same educational level expressed the weakest and least widespread support. In both groups, only a minority were in favour of language retention (46.3 percent and 39.8 percent, respectively), and relatively large proportions were opposed (17.4 percent and 23.5 percent, respectively). Again the Germans, Poles and Portuguese were between the two extremes. (Relatively few Hungarians at this low educational level supported language retention—47.5 percent—but the data here may be unreliable in view of the small number of less well-educated Hungarians in the sample.)

Roughly the same pattern is observed among respondents having between 9 and 12 years of education. The Chinese (81.8 percent), Greeks (78.9 percent), Italians (75.0 percent) and Ukrainians (69.2 percent) all expressed widespread support for language retention. The Portuguese at this middle educational level were nearly unanimous (91.2 percent) in their support, and over four in ten were strongly in favour. The Dutch and Scandinavians showed the least widespread support, but a majority were in favour. Support among the Poles is nearly as strong and widespread as it is among the Italians at this middle level of education.

Among the most well-educated respondents in the sample, it is again the Chinese (78.9 percent) and Ukrainians (82.9 percent), as well as the Poles (76.0 percent) and Hungarians (79.3 percent) who show the most widespread support. The Italians do show strong support (26.3 percent), but the total percentage in favour (72.7 percent) is not exceptionally high, and a sizable group of the well-educated Italians (18.4 percent) are opposed to language retention.

The effect of education on language support is not the same in each ethnic group. Recall that overall, there is a lower degree of strong support among the more well-educated. This trend is observed among the Germans, Greeks and Italians. However, among Chinese, there is no effect of education at all, and among the Dutch, Poles and Scandinavians, it is the more well-educated who are more strongly in support of language retention. There is also a definite trend in these three groups for the well-educated to be less strongly opposed. The patterns for Ukrainians, Hungarians and Portuguese are more erratic. Ukrainians, in the middle range of education, expressed generally less support (69.1 percent) for language retention than their compatriots in the other two classifications (81.8 percent and 82.9 percent). This difference was largely accounted for by indifference rather than active opposition and it can be noted that, of all groups with substantial representation in each education classification, Ukrainians consistently recorded the lowest number of respondents expressing opposition (range 3.9 percent to 4.4 percent).

It appears that the group-by-group patterns explain the connection between education and support for language retention, rather than the other way around. The Italians and Greeks exhibit the strongest support for language retention, and they also have relatively large proportions of respondents in the low education category (61.1 percent and 57.8 percent, respectively, as opposed to 38.4 percent over all groups combined). Were it not for the Italian and Greek pattern of strong support, and their relatively large proportions in the low education category, the observed overall trend for the less well-educated to show strong support would not have been at all pronounced.

The less well-educated respondents are more often immigrants (see above, Table 4.11), and since immigrants more often express strong support for language retention (see above Table 4.49), it is necessary to analyze separately the effects of education and generational status on support for language retention. This can be done in Table 4.59. It is found that both education and generational status affect attitudes toward

TABLE 4.59 Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by generation and years of education

Attitude Toward Language Retention						
Generation	Years of Education	Very Desir-able	Somewhat Desir-able	Indif-ferent	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	(N)
First Generation	13 or more	25.1	51.7	12.5	10.7	(170,806)
	9-12	29.9	42.9	18.3	8.9	(293,333)
	8 or less	41.8	33.8	16.4	7.5	(445,678)
Second Generation	13 or more	24.7	55.1	15.6	4.6	(71,664)
	9-12	15.6	44.7	31.6	8.1	(151,684)
	8 or less	26.8	38.4	27.7	7.1	(54,438)
Third Generation (and higher)	13 or more	16.4	35.7	34.7	13.2	(47,279)
	9-12	19.6	41.4	27.3	11.7	(90,199)
	8 or less	13.2	26.4	36.1	24.3	(15,750)

language retention, but the two effects are not simply additive. Among immigrants, the less well-educated respondents expressed strongest support for language retention (41.8 percent, versus 25.1 percent for the highly educated).

In the second and third generation, the effect of education is reversed. For the children or grandchildren of immigrants, the least well-educated are **less** likely to support language retention. It may be that among immigrants, those who are least educated are more dependent upon the ethnic language (for example, they may have a less firm command of English or French). In the later generations, none are really dependent upon the ethnic language, but the well-educated may more often see language retention as an asset rather than a liability. This feeling in favour of language retention among the more well-educated second and third generation respondents is not as strong as the support among the relatively uneducated immigrants. The data in Table 4.59 also help specify the effect of generational status. The effect of generation weakening support for language retention is greater among the less well-educated.

The group-by-group analysis again complicates the picture and emphasizes that statements about immigrants or about educational groups must take account of differing situations in each group. What has just been said about the effect of education on support for language retention among immigrants does apply to Italian and Greek immigrants, and to some extent also to German immigrants, but not at all to the other immigrant groups (see Table 4.60). For example, among the Scandinavians, the more well-educated immigrants are more often, and more strongly, in favour of language retention than are the less well-educated immigrants. Among those with 8 years of education or less, only 34.9 percent favour language retention, and only 14.3 percent are strongly in favour, compared to 64.1 percent among those with 9-12 years of education, with 18.5 percent strongly in favour, and compared to 65.3 percent among those with more than 12 years of education, with 23.8 percent strongly in favour. Although the patterns are somewhat erratic in the other groups, it can be said that

TABLE 4.60 Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by generation, years of education, and ethnic group
A. First generation, 13 years of education or more

Attitude Toward Language Retention					
Ethnic Group	Very Desirable	Somewhat Desirable	Indiff.	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	(N)
Chinese	35.6	43.6	15.9	4.9	(26,872)
Dutch	7.6	46.9	36.2	9.4	(8,249)
German	20.9	56.1	7.4	15.6	(45,466)
Greek	15.9	72.3	6.6	5.1	(8,518)
Hungarian	25.5	53.4	15.3	5.9	(11,724)
Italian	21.8	50.8	10.8	16.6	(40,533)
Polish	17.7	74.9	2.2	5.2	(8,892)
Portuguese	28.4	71.6	0.0	0.0	(3,339)
Scandinavian	23.8	41.5	31.4	3.3	(3,888)
Ukrainian	48.8	26.9	19.6	4.6	(13,327)
Total	25.1	51.7	12.5	10.7	(170,807)

B. First generation, 9-12 years of education

Chinese	44.6	35.0	1.8	18.7	(12,575)
Dutch	7.8	45.9	28.3	17.9	(27,653)
German	25.0	43.2	22.9	8.9	(104,125)
Greek	60.8	17.3	10.5	11.4	(25,108)
Hungarian	12.2	50.8	19.4	17.6	(12,146)
Italian	33.2	50.0	12.6	4.2	(55,837)
Polish	26.4	60.7	11.7	1.2	(20,917)
Portuguese	39.8	51.2	3.9	5.2	(7,929)
Scandinavian	18.5	45.6	32.7	3.2	(8,800)
Ukrainian	46.2	25.1	22.4	6.3	(18,247)
Total	29.9	42.9	18.3	8.9	(293,338)

education has no effect, or only a small positive effect, on support for language retention in all the other immigrant groups. Our earlier statements about the reasons for the stronger overall support for language retention among the less well-educated immigrants may still be true, but if so, they apply only to Italians, Greeks, and possibly to Germans.

TABLE 4.60 C. First generation, 8 years of education or less

Attitude Toward Language Retention					
Ethnic Group	Very Desirable	Somewhat Desirable	Indiff.	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	(N)
Chinese	40.1	34.9	12.2	12.8	(11,651)
Dutch	5.0	43.3	35.5	16.1	(17,939)
German	33.4	46.4	18.2	2.0	(41,159)
Greek	59.0	24.4	10.4	6.2	(51,250)
Hungarian	16.1	27.3	38.0	14.3	(5,060)
Italian	49.4	29.8	15.3	5.5	(216,045)
Polish	15.2	56.3	19.6	9.0	(14,306)
Portuguese	27.3	34.7	19.5	13.9	(45,785)
Scandinavian	14.3	20.6	40.2	24.9	(11,178)
Ukrainian	40.5	49.4	4.2	5.9	(31,314)
Total	41.8	33.8	16.4	7.5	(445,686)

D. Second generation, 13 years of education or more

Chinese	—	—	—	—	(1,956)
Dutch	11.1	39.4	49.5	0.0	(5,009)
German	17.2	53.9	26.7	2.2	(10,105)
Greek	—	—	—	—	(1,029)
Hungarian	14.6	65.8	12.1	7.5	(2,915)
Italian	37.9	52.6	3.3	6.2	(10,538)
Polish	21.9	41.5	28.8	7.8	(12,148)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	(0)
Scandinavian	11.8	71.1	13.5	3.7	(4,530)
Ukrainian	30.3	60.3	4.7	4.7	(23,434)
Total	24.7	55.1	15.6	4.6	(71,664)

In the second generation group (containing primarily Dutch, German, Italian, Polish, Scandinavian and Ukrainian respondents), we saw earlier that high education was associated with more widespread moderate support for language retention. In Table 4.60, it can be seen that this trend holds in particular for the Italians. Among the less well-educated second generation Italians, 63.9 percent are in favour of language retention and 26.7 percent are moderately in favour. Among those with 9-12 years of

TABLE 4.60 E. Second generation, 9-12 years of education

Ethnic Group	Attitude Toward Language Retention				(N)
	Very Desirable	Somewhat Desirable	Indiff.	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	
Chinese	—	—	—	—	(2,440)
Dutch	11.6	20.8	56.3	11.2	(5,419)
German	10.0	40.4	41.7	7.9	(36,996)
Greek	—	—	—	—	(2,048)
Hungarian	5.8	81.3	12.9	0.0	(1,862)
Italian	11.2	55.2	23.6	10.1	(22,784)
Polish	17.6	37.9	33.3	11.2	(17,877)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	(0)
Scandinavian	10.1	41.2	34.6	14.1	(21,051)
Ukrainian	22.6	49.3	25.6	2.5	(41,208)
Total	15.6	44.7	31.6	8.1	(151,685)

F. Second generation, 8 years of education or less

Chinese	—	—	—	—	(559)
Dutch	—	—	—	—	(1,210)
German	3.7	54.4	41.8	0.0	(6,525)
Greek	—	—	—	—	(0)
Hungarian	50.5	36.0	13.5	0.0	(458)
Italian	37.2	26.7	24.5	11.6	(17,384)
Polish	21.6	55.6	17.7	5.1	(7,235)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	(0)
Scandinavian	12.8	35.7	29.3	22.2	(5,285)
Ukrainian	30.2	38.5	29.9	1.5	(15,781)
Total	26.8	38.4	27.7	7.1	(54,438)

education, 66.4 percent are in favour, but 55.2 percent only moderately so. Among those with more education, 90.5 percent are in favour, with 52.6 percent being moderately in favour. The general pattern is similar to that for the Ukrainians. Among the less well-educated second generation Ukrainians, 68.7 percent were in favour of language retention, with 38.5 percent being only moderately so. Among those with 9-12 years of

education, 71.9 percent were in favour, with the proportion moderately in favour up to 49.3 percent. Among those with more education, 90.6 percent were in favour, with the proportion moderately in favour rising to 60.3 percent. A generally similar trend can be seen in the case of the Scandinavians and Germans, though it is not evident in the case of the Dutch or the Poles. It must be noted here that the small numbers of cases in many of these cells precludes definitive conclusions.

K. Income and Support for Language Retention Income, like education, can be considered an indicator of social status, but in our sample income is not very strongly associated with education ($r=0.07$). Therefore, it is important to determine whether level of income has any effect on support for language retention.

Over the entire sample, income is even less strongly related to support for language retention than is education. As Table 4.61 shows, the high income groups are slightly less inclined than the lower income groups to show strong support for language retention, and the middle income group is slightly more inclined to opposition. But there is no really marked difference among income groups in attitudes toward language retention.

TABLE 4.61 Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by annual family income

Annual Family Income	Attitude Toward Language Retention				(N)
	Very Desirable	Somewhat Desirable	Indiff.	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	
\$14,000 or more	26.6	42.1	21.2	10.1	(286,376)
\$7,000 — \$13,999	30.0	43.1	18.2	13.2	(543,272)
Less than \$7,000	32.8	39.1	18.9	9.0	(271,369)

Again, the lack of overall differences between high and low status groups masks some opposite trends within particular groups (Table 4.62). For example, among Greeks and Italians, support for language retention is considerably stronger at the low income levels. On the other hand, among low income Scandinavians, there is weaker support for language retention, and considerably more opposition to it than is the case among high income Scandinavians. Interestingly, the trend for the Dutch in this case is opposite to the trend for the Scandinavians. The low income Dutch express more support for, and less opposition to, language retention than do the high income Dutch.

Why these varying patterns should exist is not yet clear. It may be that in some groups, increasing income provides an opportunity for their members to support language retention as a cultural heritage and as a useful tool, while in others it frees the group's members from dependence upon the ethnic community, thus reducing the need for language retention. Clearly the question is very complex and more detailed analysis, not possible for this report, would be needed before even the most tentative conclusions should be drawn.

TABLE 4.62 Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by annual family income and ethnic group

A. Annual family income: \$14,000 or more

Ethnic Group	Attitude Toward Language Retention				(N)
	Very Desirable	Somewhat Desirable	Indiff.	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	
Chinese	41.3	43.7	6.3	8.7	(12,887)
Dutch	3.1	36.1	38.0	22.8	(18,619)
German	31.1	36.2	20.3	12.3	(79,424)
Greek	24.5	51.6	10.6	13.3	(11,374)
Hungarian	7.5	60.4	22.5	9.6	(9,574)
Italian	30.2	44.0	15.1	10.8	(76,793)
Polish	18.7	47.6	25.9	7.7	(18,391)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	(7,114)
Scandinavian	21.2	32.5	43.5	2.8	(16,691)
Ukrainian	28.3	46.5	21.7	3.4	(35,512)
Total	26.6	42.1	21.2	10.1	(286,377)

B. Annual family income: \$7,000-\$13,999

Chinese	39.4	31.8	18.2	10.6	(17,813)
Dutch	11.6	49.0	23.4	15.9	(35,444)
German	14.5	52.4	25.1	7.9	(120,956)
Greek	53.8	26.6	11.9	7.7	(40,802)
Hungarian	24.3	55.3	10.8	9.6	(13,089)
Italian	40.7	38.8	12.7	7.9	(164,996)
Polish	17.2	56.3	21.2	5.3	(29,204)
Portuguese	33.8	36.6	8.7	18.1	(34,211)
Scandinavian	12.0	43.4	36.2	8.4	(24,110)
Ukrainian	35.9	41.6	18.9	3.5	(62,655)
Total	30.0	43.1	18.2	8.5	(543,280)

L. Age and Support for Language Retention Does support for language retention come more often from the older segment of the population? It might be thought that support for ethnic traditions is a concern primarily of older persons whose place in society is set, and who may be in a position to turn from problems of economic

TABLE 4.62 C. Annual family income: less than \$7,000

Attitude Toward Language Retention					
Ethnic Group	Very Desirable	Somewhat Desirable	Indiff.	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	(N)
Chinese	36.0	52.3	6.7	4.9	(13,511)
Dutch	6.9	49.6	40.2	3.3	(12,030)
German	25.3	39.0	22.9	12.7	(49,875)
Greek	62.3	26.6	2.3	8.8	(22,608)
Hungarian	21.3	39.2	19.6	16.9	(7,756)
Italian	45.4	26.7	18.8	9.1	(81,105)
Polish	20.7	48.3	25.1	6.0	(24,718)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	(7,779)
Scandinavian	10.7	38.6	27.2	23.5	(15,338)
Ukrainian	27.4	57.9	12.6	2.1	(36,651)
Total	32.8	39.1	18.9	9.0	(271,370)

TABLE 4.63 Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by age

Attitude Toward Language Retention					
Age	Very Desirable	Somewhat Desirable	Indiff.	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	(N)
18-25 years	26.9	46.9	18.6	7.6	271,640
26-35 years	30.9	40.9	21.1	7.2	332,097
36-50 years	29.7	42.6	19.2	8.3	452,718
51-60 years	33.1	35.2	21.1	10.6	135,656
Over 60 years	31.1	30.6	22.7	14.8	138,291

adaptation to problems of ethnic retention. If there is a conflict between ethnic retention on the one hand, and social and economic mobility on the other, that conflict might be more salient for younger persons who are still struggling to establish a career for themselves.

On this point, the data are quite clear and do not support the idea that younger persons less often support language retention. Table 4.63 shows the relationship between age and support for language retention. Support is high (over 61 percent in favour, and over 26 percent strongly in favour) in **each** age category. And, if anything,

TABLE 4.64 Percentages with various attitudes toward non-official language retention, by age and ethnic group

A. Age: 18-25 years

Ethnic Group	Attitude Toward Language Retention				(N)
	Very Desirable	Somewhat Desirable	Indiff.	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	
Chinese	26.3	43.9	18.1	11.7	(18,302)
Dutch	8.7	48.1	34.7	8.6	(12,406)
German	18.6	55.9	23.7	1.8	(57,393)
Greek	51.1	35.7	2.0	11.2	(21,357)
Hungarian	4.0	70.5	18.1	7.4	(5,813)
Italian	30.9	42.2	12.8	14.1	(82,918)
Polish	16.9	55.0	28.1	0.0	(16,647)
Portuguese	36.4	59.7	3.9	0.0	(10,541)
Scandinavian	13.1	48.6	30.4	8.0	(11,493)
Ukrainian	33.3	39.2	25.0	2.6	(34,770)
Total	26.9	46.9	18.6	7.6	(271,640)

B. Age: 26-35 years

Chinese	49.1	35.2	5.0	10.6	(18,871)
Dutch	15.3	34.2	39.3	11.2	(16,970)
German	26.6	40.3	26.0	7.0	(74,915)
Greek	56.8	26.9	13.1	3.2	(29,582)
Hungarian	29.1	50.1	16.9	3.9	(6,703)
Italian	36.7	41.4	16.8	5.2	(92,343)
Polish	11.8	52.9	28.1	7.1	(19,827)
Portuguese	29.3	30.6	15.2	24.9	(20,115)
Scandinavian	9.8	42.5	41.5	6.2	(15,251)
Ukrainian	22.3	54.3	20.0	3.4	(37,521)
Total	30.9	40.9	21.1	7.2	(332,097)

support is most widespread among the **younger** segment of the population, where over 70 percent are in favour, and less than 8 percent are opposed. Among the older persons, total support is less, and opposition somewhat greater (though strong support is actually more frequent in the older age groups).

Before the effect of age within each group is examined, brief attention will be given to group differences at each age level (see Table 4.64). In the 18-25 year range it is clear

TABLE 4.64 C. Age: 36-50 years

Ethnic Group	Attitude Toward Language Retention				(N)
	Very Desirable	Somewhat Desirable	Indiff.	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	
Chinese	39.4	43.3	8.5	8.8	(13,605)
Dutch	4.4	45.6	37.5	12.5	(30,052)
German	17.8	49.4	23.7	9.1	(101,695)
Greek	48.2	26.6	15.1	10.1	(28,148)
Hungarian	18.3	52.8	19.9	9.1	(9,617)
Italian	45.0	34.8	12.3	7.8	(142,509)
Polish	25.0	50.8	17.9	6.3	(25,929)
Portuguese	23.1	42.3	20.5	8.4	(21,026)
Scandinavian	18.9	39.9	36.2	5.0	(22,021)
Ukrainian	25.2	51.9	16.3	6.6	(58,117)
Total	29.7	42.6	19.2	8.3	(452,718)

D. Age: 51-60 years

Chinese	19.1	74.8	0.0	6.1	(2,347)
Dutch	14.8	27.4	34.1	23.7	(8,514)
German	27.8	30.9	26.2	15.1	(35,824)
Greek	65.6	31.3	3.1	0.0	(5,141)
Hungarian	12.6	36.9	18.3	32.2	(4,151)
Italian	39.5	36.9	15.4	8.2	(35,769)
Polish	23.4	45.0	19.4	12.2	(10,799)
Portuguese	42.8	32.8	24.4	0.0	(3,469)
Scandinavian	15.7	33.0	40.0	11.3	(6,998)
Ukrainian	44.5	35.1	18.2	2.2	(22,644)
Total	33.1	35.2	21.1	10.6	(135,656)

that the most widespread support comes from Greeks (86.8 percent), Portuguese (96.1 percent), Germans (74.5 percent), Ukrainians (72.5 percent), Hungarians (74.5 percent) and Italians (73.1 percent). But note that the Italians also have the highest percentage of respondents in the unfavourable category (14.1 percent) together with Chinese (11.7 percent) and Greeks (11.2 percent). Very few Dutch 18-25 year old respondents (8.7 percent) strongly supported language retention, but a majority were generally more favourable, and few opposed it. The greatest degree of indifference was

TABLE 4.64 E. Age: over 60 years

Attitude Toward Language Retention					
Ethnic Group	Very Desirable	Somewhat Desirable	Indiff.	Somewhat or Very Undesirable	(N)
Chinese	48.6	23.3	15.0	13.1	(3,823)
Dutch	2.9	45.9	21.1	30.2	(8,129)
German	23.5	27.3	28.4	20.7	(32,519)
Greek	72.0	14.1	0.0	13.9	(3,395)
Hungarian	17.7	45.3	23.4	10.8	(8,130)
Italian	50.6	12.8	27.3	9.3	(27,035)
Polish	21.4	53.2	17.0	8.4	(15,769)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	(1,587)
Scandinavian	11.1	30.8	17.6	40.6	(12,228)
Ukrainian	40.1	35.2	22.4	2.3	(25,676)
Total	31.1	30.6	22.7	14.8	(138,291)

expressed by Dutch (34.7 percent), Scandinavians (30.4 percent) and Poles (28.1 percent).

In the 26-35 year range (a group which would be most likely to have children in the school ages) the most widespread support was found among Greeks (82.7 percent), Chinese (84.3 percent) and Italians (78.1 percent). Scandinavians (52.3 percent) and Dutch (49.5 percent) again had the lowest percentages expressing favourable attitudes towards language support. A large proportion (24.9 percent) of Portuguese in this age group expressed unfavourable views on language support. This was more than twice the proportion found in any other group.

If we compare all these tables, we can see how the effect of age varies from group to group. Both the Dutch and the Germans follow the general pattern of less widespread support and increased opposition with increasing age. There is a very consistent rise in the proportion opposed to language retention across the five age ranges both for the Dutch (8.6 percent, 11.2 percent, 12.5 percent, 23.7 percent, 30.2 percent) and the Germans (1.8 percent, 7.0 percent, 9.1 percent, 15.1 percent, 20.7 percent). Both groups are well represented in all age categories so it would appear that the trend is reliable. An opposite trend can be seen only for the Italians, who have a fairly consistent increase (as age increases) in reportedly **very** favourable attitudes towards language retention (30.9 percent, 36.7 percent, 45.0 percent, 39.5 percent, 50.6 percent), although there is no increase in the total percentage in favour. The other groups vary substantially across age ranges. It is interesting to note, however, that in respondents over 60 a very substantial percentage (40.6 percent) of a strong sample of Scandinavians, 30.2 percent of Dutch and 20.7 percent of German respondents, were unfavour-

able towards language retention, and in two of these groups less than half the respondents expressed general support for language retention.

A detailed analysis of the relation between stages of the life cycle and support for language retention would have to take account of the relation between age and generation (the younger respondents are more often recent immigrants), and the relation between age and education (among the native-born, the younger respondents are better educated). These matters will no doubt be explored in later studies based upon the data. Such detailed investigation is beyond the scope of the present report. However, our most important conclusion is that support for language retention comes from all age categories, and that the large between-group differences in language support have remained consistent when age is considered.

SECTION 4 — FOCUS OF SUPPORT FOR LANGUAGE RETENTION

To fully delineate the nature of existing support for language retention, it is important to know which specific institutions and facilities are regarded by ethnic group members as most important for encouraging language retention and language-related activity. Respondents were asked their opinion about education and language use in public schools, in ethnic schools, in church, in the ethnic press, in the electronic media and in other contexts.* They were asked about the importance of language use in each of these areas, and in some cases were asked very specific questions about how improvements might be made. This section of the report discusses the most salient trends in their replies. It also presents the first data available on popular knowledge about, and support for, the federal government's multiculturalism policy.

A. The Education of Children The prospects for cultural retention are very critically affected by the socialization of the younger generation. Therefore, a major focus of concern in the study is on the experiences of children growing up in Canada, and the type of educational institutions they encounter. Of course, Canada's educational system is still very much dominated by English and French culture. The impact of this system on cultural diversity of the wider society is a critical concern. For the purpose of this study, we have concentrated on an investigation of the hopes, aspirations and plans of parents in the non-official language groups with respect to the education of their children.

A first item of concern is the parents' interest in seeing to it that their children learn the ancestral language. Therefore, only parents were asked to consider questions regarding the desirability of children's retention of the non-official language. Data arising from their responses are summarized in Table 4.65. The table is based upon a cross-tabulation of levels of support of language retention with expressed desirability of language retention among children. The data suggest an almost complete lack of opposition to children's retention of the language, even in the generally indifferent and opposed groups. There is little doubt that where children are concerned, language retention is considered to be a good thing and, in principle, children's time would be made readily available by parents for learning the non-official language. Whether this would be the case if there were conflicts with other activities considered essential for the child's education, was not ascertained.

*Some questions were asked about ethnic organizations, but since such organizations were participated in by less than 10 percent of the sample, the results are not included in this report.

TABLE 4.65 Percentages of parents with various attitudes toward language retention by their own children, by general attitude toward language retention

Attitude Toward Language Retention by Own Children					
Attitude Toward Language Retention	Strongly in Favour	Somewhat in Favour	Indiff.	Somewhat or Strongly Opposed	(N)
Very Desirable	76.1	13.8	7.7	0.0	(305,140)
Somewhat Desirable	40.5	35.5	22.0	0.7	(387,383)
Indifferent	16.9	29.1	49.3	3.0	(192,805)
Somewhat or Very Undesirable	22.4	17.8	49.4	8.7	(73,593)
Total	45.7	26.3	25.0	1.5	(958,921)

TABLE 4.66 Percentages of parents with various attitudes toward language retention by their own children, by general attitude toward language retention, and ethnic group

A. Attitude toward language retention: very desirable

Attitude Toward Language Retention by Own Children					
Ethnic Group	Strongly in Favour	Somewhat in Favour	Indiff.	Somewhat or Strongly Opposed	(N)
Chinese	87.8	8.7	3.5	0.0	(13,749)
Dutch	44.8	24.3	30.9	0.0	(4,965)
German	80.3	14.6	3.6	0.0	(45,647)
Greek	73.1	18.7	6.2	0.0	(37,426)
Hungarian	68.5	19.4	4.5	0.0	(4,753)
Italian	83.0	6.5	6.7	0.0	(130,264)
Polish	43.5	22.6	30.7	0.0	(12,743)
Portuguese	70.6	28.0	1.4	0.0	(11,445)
Scandinavian	55.4	25.3	17.0	0.0	(7,435)
Ukrainian	67.3	23.7	9.0	0.0	(36,714)
Total	76.1	13.8	7.7	0.0	(305,140)

Among those opposed to language retention, more than 40 percent of respondents were favourably disposed towards the children's learning or retention of the language. Thus, it seems clear that while a number of respondents may oppose language retention among members of the groups in general, they are prepared to support such

TABLE 4.66 B. Attitude toward language retention: somewhat desirable

Attitude Toward Language Retention by Own Children					
Ethnic Group	Strongly in Favour	Somewhat in Favour	Indiff.	Somewhat or Strongly Opposed	(N)
Chinese	53.6	30.4	16.0	0.0	(14,782)
Dutch	17.6	55.7	25.2	0.0	(25,406)
German	32.0	43.1	24.6	0.0	(91,155)
Greek	59.0	26.4	11.9	2.7	(17,785)
Hungarian	36.7	19.7	20.5	6.5	(11,272)
Italian	65.5	21.5	12.3	0.8	(101,499)
Polish	39.1	26.3	29.4	0.0	(29,483)
Portuguese	43.7	42.0	14.3	0.0	(14,632)
Scandinavian	12.8	52.4	31.9	2.8	(18,863)
Ukrainian	22.4	43.5	32.5	0.0	(62,508)
Total	40.5	35.5	22.0	0.7	(387,383)

C. Attitude toward language retention: indifferent

Chinese	—	—	—	—	(2,308)
Dutch	5.0	40.9	51.3	0.0	(20,446)
German	2.9	32.9	58.4	4.2	(53,022)
Greek	—	—	—	—	(7,555)
Hungarian	8.3	50.9	37.8	3.0	(3,732)
Italian	45.7	21.1	28.1	5.0	(40,461)
Polish	17.5	11.2	66.0	2.5	(13,462)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	(8,601)
Scandinavian	10.5	30.0	56.0	2.7	(18,790)
Ukrainian	10.9	21.8	59.7	2.0	(24,430)
Total	16.9	29.1	49.3	3.0	(192,805)

retention among children. Why this is so is to some extent indicated in a later table. Group-by-group statistics largely follow the already well defined pattern found in the data thus far analysed and Table 4.66 presents the new results obtained. The reader will note that generally low cell sizes make analysis very difficult in the “indifferent” and “opposed” categories, but attention is drawn to the high percentage (49.2 percent) of

TABLE 4.66 D. Attitude toward language retention: somewhat or very undesirable

Attitude Toward Language Retention by Own Children					
Ethnic Group	Strongly in Favour	Somewhat in Favour	Indiff.	Somewhat or Strongly Opposed	(N)
Chinese	—	—	—	—	(2,137)
Dutch	12.2	5.2	80.9	1.7	(8,352)
German	12.1	23.2	49.9	14.7	(15,295)
Greek	—	—	—	—	(4,812)
Hungarian	—	—	—	—	(3,041)
Italian	49.2	23.1	21.6	6.1	(19,678)
Polish	—	—	—	—	(3,727)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	(6,072)
Scandinavian	6.6	14.7	54.8	16.5	(4,523)
Ukrainian	—	—	—	—	(5,956)
Total	22.4	17.8	49.4	8.7	(73,593)

TABLE 4.67 Percentages of parents giving various reasons for favouring language retention by their own children, by general attitude toward language retention

Reasons for Language Retention by Own Children						
General Attitude Toward Language Retention	Keep up Customs & Traditions	Communi- cation With Others	Useful- ness As a 2nd Lang.	Other Reason	No Reason	(N)
Very Desirable	21.1	20.1	43.3	8.8	4.8	(305,141)
Somewhat Desirable	14.3	17.5	46.1	7.3	13.4	(387,383)
Indifferent	4.2	12.1	42.0	5.2	33.9	(192,805)
Somewhat or Very Undesirable	4.7	12.2	30.2	6.0	44.4	(73,593)
Total	13.7	16.8	43.2	7.3	17.2	(958,922)

Italians opposed to language retention, who strongly desired children to learn the ancestral tongue as did 12.2 percent of Dutch and 12.1 percent of Germans.

Table 4.67 presents a summary of data regarding reasons for support for children's retention of language and it does indicate some changes according to level of support.

TABLE 4.68 Percentages of parents giving various reasons for favouring language retention by their own children, by general attitude toward language retention, and ethnic group

A. General attitude toward language retention: very desirable

Reasons for Language Retention by Own Children						
Ethnic Group	Keep up Customs & Traditions	Communi- cation With Others	Useful as Second Language	Other Reason	No Reason	(N)
Chinese	43.5	25.4	26.9	1.7	0.4	(13,749)
Dutch	1.9	9.4	62.9	17.2	8.5	(4,965)
German	12.8	25.3	48.9	6.3	6.8	(45,647)
Greek	24.8	21.7	47.7	2.7	3.1	(37,426)
Hungarian	30.2	30.0	20.0	2.8	17.0	(4,753)
Italian	15.3	21.7	45.7	11.1	2.4	(130,265)
Polish	16.1	4.0	53.9	8.2	14.5	(12,743)
Portuguese	30.8	21.4	26.8	15.1	5.9	(11,445)
Scandinavian	16.6	18.1	40.7	2.3	22.2	(7,435)
Ukrainian	40.8	10.5	31.6	12.1	5.1	(36,714)
Total	21.1	20.1	43.3	8.8	4.8	(305,141)

It can be seen that emphasis upon the retention of customs and traditions and community needs is somewhat reduced as support decreases, although these changes are influenced by the increase in the “no-reason” category.

It is notable, however, that the decrease is much less marked in the “usefulness as a second language” reason. Indeed, there is very little difference between three levels while almost a third of those generally opposed to language retention felt that it had usefulness as a second language. Quite clearly, the factor of second language “usefulness” is an important determinant of support for language retention.

On a group-by-group basis for respondents in favour of language retention (Table 4.68), it can be seen that among those strongly supporting, the highest percentages mentioning customs and traditions were reported by the Chinese (43.5 percent) and Ukrainians (40.8 percent), and the lowest by Dutch (1.9 percent) and Germans (12.8 percent). Only in one group (Hungarians) did a majority see the satisfaction of community needs as the priority reason for children’s retention of the ancestral language, but six group majorities (Dutch 62.9 percent, Polish 53.9 percent; Germans 48.9 percent; Greeks 47.7 percent; Italians 45.7 percent; and Scandinavians 40.7 percent) considered that the usefulness of a second language was paramount.

Among respondents who were somewhat favourable to language retention, the Chinese again had a majority who considered the main purpose to be the keeping up of traditions and customs. This finding is quite important specifically to the Chinese among whom it appears that language retention is considered most essential to the

TABLE 4.68 B. General attitude toward language retention: somewhat desirable

Reasons for Language Retention by Own Children						
Ethnic Group	Keep up Customs & Traditions	Communi- cation With Others	Useful as Second Language	Other Reason	No Reason	(N)
Chinese	34.6	31.0	17.6	5.3	11.6	(14,782)
Dutch	14.8	18.2	39.5	13.1	14.3	(25,406)
German	7.3	7.2	63.9	8.3	13.1	(91,155)
Greek	16.0	16.1	50.4	5.8	11.8	(17,785)
Hungarian	10.0	8.3	28.0	13.1	19.9	(11,272)
Italian	12.2	26.6	46.8	7.3	6.5	(101,499)
Polish	16.2	25.6	34.9	4.4	16.4	(29,483)
Portuguese	26.5	25.8	32.1	3.3	12.4	(14,632)
Scandinavian	12.7	12.0	45.2	6.6	23.5	(18,863)
Ukrainian	19.7	12.1	39.5	6.1	20.5	(62,508)
Total	14.3	17.5	46.1	7.3	13.4	(387,383)

retention of important cultural attributes. When the percentage reporting the importance of language retention on the grounds of communication needs is added, it can be seen that more than two-thirds of Chinese see language retention by children as singularly important in the local community. This is also apparent in the rather small group of Hungarian respondents in the same category, while a little over half the substantial group of Ukrainians reacted similarly. These three groups gave the greater evidence that language retention among children was related to cultural and traditional survival within the Canadian ethnic community. All other groups were clearly more concerned with the language's usefulness as a second tongue. Tables for those respondents indifferent to or opposing language retention are not included, but among those respondents who gave reasons for supporting children's language retention, the majority was firmly in the "usefulness of a second language" category. Only the Portuguese opposed.

There seems no doubt that respondents within and between groups clearly saw the retention of social and community customs and traditions as a less important reason for language retention in children than the somewhat general concept of its "usefulness" as an additional language skill.

One of the most important areas of concern in the general topic of language retention is the role of educational institutions. To what degree should the public schools, or other types of schools, be involved in language maintenance efforts, and how can the practical difficulties be resolved? The respondents in our sample were asked a number of relevant questions.

First, there is the simple question of whether special schooling is needed at all. As Table 4.69 indicates, the majority felt that parents have the primary responsibility for

TABLE 4.69 Percentages assigning primary responsibility to each agent for teaching the ethnic history, language and culture to children of non-official language groups, by generation

Generation	Agents Responsible for Teaching					(N)
	Parents	Schools in Ethnic Area, Otherwise Parents	Schools Across Canada	Other	Don't Know	
First Generation	40.1	25.8	25.5	3.2	4.8	(910,449)
Second Generation	46.7	23.7	24.5	2.1	2.6	(279,717)
Third Generation	52.4	28.4	15.0	2.3	1.0	(128,091)
Older Families	65.1	16.7	16.1	0.0	1.2	(25,342)
Total	43.1	25.5	24.1	2.8	3.9	(1,343,594)

TABLE 4.70 Percentages assigning primary responsibility to each agent for teaching the ethnic history, language and culture to children of non-official language groups, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Agents Responsible for Teaching					(N)
	Parents	Schools in Ethnic Area, Otherwise Parents	Schools Across Canada	Other	Don't Know	
Chinese	40.5	36.1	14.4	6.1	2.5	(57,636)
Dutch	63.8	13.3	20.1	0.8	0.8	(76,637)
German	48.5	20.6	25.6	2.4	2.5	(303,873)
Greek	24.7	33.8	32.7	5.2	3.1	(88,642)
Hungarian	53.4	22.8	14.3	4.4	3.2	(34,866)
Italian	36.8	27.5	27.9	1.4	5.4	(382,501)
Polish	46.7	22.2	22.6	2.2	6.4	(91,066)
Portuguese	43.8	24.2	14.0	5.3	12.8	(57,365)
Scandinavian	63.7	15.2	12.5	5.7	2.4	(69,353)
Ukrainian	36.6	33.4	24.3	3.3	2.0	(181,656)
Total	43.1	25.5	24.1	2.8		(1,343,594)

teaching the history, culture and language of their ethnic group to their children. This view was less widespread among immigrants than among second and third generation respondents. Evidently those who feel most strongly about the need for language and cultural retention also feel that institutional help is needed. Most of those who feel that schools should be involved also feel that this is justified only in locations where a substantial proportion of ethnic group members live. However, a sizeable minority calls for institutional involvement right across Canada.

In general, the Dutch, Hungarians and Scandinavians support the primacy of the parent, while the Greeks, Chinese, Italians and Ukrainians, are more inclined to the agency approach (see Table 4.70). This again reflects the fact that those who care most strongly about ethnic retention are most likely to call for institutional help.

Where in the educational system do respondents place the responsibility for such a provision of language courses and other courses on the history and culture of the ethnic groups? Table 4.71 presents the respondents' opinions on the type of school in which such courses are most needed, by generational status. There was a variety of opinions, but the primary schools were most often mentioned, followed in order by the secondary schools, ethnic schools, colleges and universities, and church schools. (Note that the church schools mentioned by respondents in this context are undoubtedly schools in ethnic churches, and should therefore be considered as a type of ethnic school.)

There is a high degree of agreement between generations, particularly between first and second generations. Surprisingly, the ethnic schools are mentioned by third and subsequent generation respondents as the principal place for the provision of the courses — approximately twice as often as by immigrants and second generation respondents. Only about 10 percent of the full sample consider the universities and colleges as the prime place for the programs. More than 50 percent in every generation would place the responsibility in the regular school systems.

TABLE 4.71 Percentages assigning primary responsibility to each type of school for teaching the language, history and culture of non-official language groups (assuming schools are used), by generation

Type of School								
Generation	Primary Schools	Second- ary Schools	Ethnic Schools	Church Schools	Colleges & Uni- versities	Don't Other Know		(N)
First Generation	30.7	26.1	11.2	6.6	10.2	2.6	11.7	(910,450)
Second Generation	34.8	22.6	12.9	9.4	10.2	2.2	7.2	(279,717)
Third Generation	33.1	19.3	22.5	9.6	9.1	3.7	2.6	(128,091)
Older Families	37.1	13.0	22.9	5.2	15.7	0.6	3.2	(25,342)
Total	31.9	24.5	12.9	7.5	10.2	2.6	9.7	(1,343,599)

TABLE 4.72 Percentages assigning primary responsibility to each type of school for teaching of the language, history and culture of non-official language groups (assuming schools are used), by generation and ethnic group

A. First generation

Ethnic Group	Type of School							(N)
	Primary Schools	Second-ary Schools	Ethnic Schools	Church Schools	Colleges & Uni-versities	Other	Don't Know	
Chinese	34.4	22.9	25.6	3.7	8.0	1.2	3.6	(51,097)
Dutch	30.4	24.1	10.1	8.2	5.0	1.3	16.5	(53,841)
German	25.5	30.4	12.1	7.5	13.0	1.7	9.7	(190,749)
Greek	27.7	34.5	7.6	7.2	9.6	3.8	8.1	(84,877)
Hungarian	20.5	24.6	11.4	15.6	6.7	2.6	16.0	(28,930)
Italian	35.0	26.1	8.1	4.5	9.4	3.6	12.6	(312,415)
Polish	35.5	14.9	15.8	4.1	14.1	1.9	13.7	(44,115)
Portuguese	17.9	24.1	14.5	11.9	9.2	2.2	20.2	(57,053)
Scandinavian	26.2	19.4	15.9	12.2	11.9	1.2	9.8	(23,996)
Ukrainian	41.8	18.5	10.2	5.2	11.6	2.9	9.8	(63,378)
Total	30.7	26.1	11.2	6.6	10.2	2.6	11.7	(910,450)

In the first generation (Table 4.72), it appears that between 50 and 60 percent of almost all groups support the idea of the school systems as the principal focus of language and cultural instruction. However, there are some interesting variations. More than a quarter of the Chinese favoured the ethnic school as the prime focus, and this view was shared by a substantial number of Poles and Scandinavians. However, four in every ten Ukrainians placed the responsibility directly in the hands of the primary school as did large numbers of Italians, Poles and Chinese. Church schools were most strongly favoured by Hungarians (15.6 percent) but overall they received only moderate nomination by the groups in the first generation as the main source of instruction in language and culture.

Figures for second generation respondents (Table 4.72) are generally similar but there are some interesting trends. Over half the Dutch, for example, felt that the primary school was key to language and cultural instruction and their view was shared by many Italians, Scandinavians and Ukrainians. The Germans and Dutch both had relatively high percentages in support of the role of the ethnic school. Overall, the available figures for the third generation are consistent with those noted above.

The interpretation of these data offered at this point suggests that they are consistent with the preceding findings in that support exists for the development of courses in the ethnic language and culture and that the perceived location is essentially in the school system and principally in the primary school.

The question of responsibility for education relevant to ethnic group history, culture and language was put to respondents in another way: **Who should pay?** Should the financial burden for such specialized instruction fall directly on the parents, or should it

TABLE 4.72 B. Second generation

Ethnic Group	Type of School							(N)
	Primary Schools	Second-ary Schools	Ethnic Schools	Church Schools	Colleges & Uni-versities	Other	Don't Know	
Chinese	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(4,956)
Dutch	50.9	6.9	20.0	8.4	5.1	—	8.3	(11,638)
German	25.9	28.8	18.6	11.4	4.3	3.5	7.5	(53,626)
Greek	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(3,076)
Hungarian	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(5,235)
Italian	45.6	16.7	4.7	4.3	13.8	—	14.9	(52,638)
Polish	28.1	20.6	15.5	15.3	12.7	1.7	5.8	(37,261)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Scandinavian	36.1	19.5	10.9	6.6	18.4	0.9	5.6	(30,866)
Ukrainian	36.6	22.7	13.5	8.9	9.1	4.2	3.6	(80,423)
Total	34.8	22.6	12.9	9.4	10.2	2.2	7.2	(279,717)

TABLE 4.72 C. Third generation

Chinese	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(1,197)
Dutch	18.9	13.4	18.5	22.6	9.2	0.8	16.5	(6,003)
German	36.3	24.1	24.3	7.5	3.1	2.2	2.0	(44,471)
Greek	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(689)
Hungarian	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(620)
Italian	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(17,048)
Polish	23.0	11.4	13.4	17.5	23.4	4.3	6.9	(9,039)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(0)
Scandinavian	35.4	25.3	14.8	5.5	13.8	—	3.8	(12,901)
Ukrainian	29.0	20.9	26.0	12.9	5.7	5.4	—	(36,126)
Total	33.1	19.3	22.5	9.6	9.1	3.7	2.6	(128,091)

be shared by the ethnic group generally, or by all Canadians? On this question the respondents are sharply split (see Table 4.73). It appears that about one-third think that parents should be prepared to shoulder the cost, but this proportion increases as generation increases. Another fifth would have costs shared within the ethnic group. A substantial number, never less than a third, would place the burden on the taxpayer in general. Overall, the results suggest a view that there is mixed responsibility for the cost and that the parent is a primary element in that responsibility.

TABLE 4.73 Percentages assigning costs to each source for the instruction of children of non-official language groups in the language, history and culture of their ethnic origin, by generation

Generation	Source of Financial Support					(N)
	Parents	Ethnic Group	Canadian Taxpayers	Other	Don't Know	
First Generation	30.8	14.6	43.3	3.1	7.8	(910,449)
Second Generation	33.8	19.7	37.2	2.3	6.9	(279,717)
Third Generation	42.5	19.1	33.4	1.5	3.4	(128,091)
Older Families	37.8	23.1	34.5	—	3.3	(25,342)
Total	32.7	16.2	40.9	2.7	7.1	(1,343,594)

TABLE 4.74 Percentages assigning costs to each source for the instruction of children of non-official language groups in the language, history and culture of their ethnic origin, by generation and ethnic group

A. First generation

Ethnic Group	Source of Financial Support					(N)
	Parents	Ethnic Group	Canadian Taxpayers	Other	Don't Know	
Chinese	36.7	25.5	29.5	1.3	6.4	(51,097)
Dutch	39.4	12.8	36.0	5.7	5.1	(53,841)
German	40.1	17.2	33.2	4.5	4.4	(190,749)
Greek	25.5	18.3	45.2	4.4	6.2	(84,877)
Hungarian	46.6	12.2	23.3	4.0	13.0	(28,930)
Italian	19.6	10.1	59.5	1.1	9.7	(312,414)
Polish	38.9	12.0	39.2	0.0	8.1	(44,115)
Portuguese	33.8	16.5	21.7	6.4	21.7	(57,053)
Scandinavian	44.0	23.4	19.5	8.8	2.8	(23,996)
Ukrainian	31.8	14.1	49.5	2.7	0.9	(63,378)
Total	30.8	14.6	43.3	3.1	7.8	(910,449)

In general, those groups which feel most strongly about ethnic retention are the ones who most often call upon the general public for financial support. Table 4.74 shows that Ukrainians, Italians and Greeks in the first generation placed substantially more burden

TABLE 4.74 B. Second generation

Ethnic Group	Source of Financial Support					(N)
	Parents	Ethnic Group	Canadian Taxpayers	Other	Don't Know	
Chinese	—	—	—	—	—	(4,956)
Dutch	51.6	15.1	27.0	0.0	5.1	(11,638)
German	28.2	20.5	42.7	3.9	4.2	(53,626)
Greek	—	—	—	—	—	(3,076)
Hungarian	34.0	34.5	30.3	0.0	1.1	(5,235)
Italian	20.4	25.3	35.4	1.4	17.5	(52,638)
Polish	42.5	18.7	27.4	4.0	7.3	(37,261)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	—	(0)
Scandinavian	49.2	16.8	30.5	2.2	1.3	(30,866)
Ukrainian	33.9	14.7	45.8	1.6	3.9	(80,423)
Total	33.8	19.7	37.2	2.3	6.9	(279,717)

TABLE 4.74 C. Third generation

Chinese	—	—	—	—	—	(1,197)
Dutch	31.7	26.4	24.8	10.1	7.1	(6,003)
German	47.9	18.9	28.3	0.9	4.0	(44,471)
Greek	—	—	—	—	—	(689)
Hungarian	—	—	—	—	—	(620)
Italian	—	—	—	—	—	(17,048)
Polish	38.1	14.6	41.6	3.6	2.2	(9,039)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	—	(0)
Scandinavian	44.6	23.6	29.8	0.0	2.0	(12,901)
Ukrainian	30.0	18.4	47.2	1.0	2.6	(36,125)
Total	42.5	19.1	33.4	1.5	3.4	(128,091)

on the general taxpayer than did Scandinavians, Portuguese and Hungarians. Most of the other groups mentioned more often the parents as the ones who should bear the costs. Both Chinese and Scandinavians had one in four respondents who would charge the primary cost to the ethnic group.

The results suggest a less distinct but present confirmation of the pattern whereby Greeks, Ukrainians and Italians tend to seek and expect greater outside support for language retention, while Scandinavians and others tend to be less positive towards

TABLE 4.75 Percentages with each attitude toward their own children taking non-official language courses were they available in local public and secondary schools, by generation

Attitude Toward Children Taking Courses						(N)
Generation	Insist	Encourage	Don't Care	Discourage	Inapp.*	
First Generation	19.5	42.2	9.1	1.5	24.3	(910,449)
Second Generation	6.5	42.0	14.6	0.7	33.5	(279,717)
Third Generation	3.8	27.7	18.3	2.7	46.2	(128,091)
Older Families	1.6	22.8	17.6	4.6	47.3	(25,342)
Total	15.0	40.4	11.3	1.5	28.8	(1,343,595)

*Includes respondents having no children.

general Canadian financial support of linguistic and cultural retention. These patterns are a little more marked in the second generation data wherein Dutch, Scandinavians and Poles tend to place the burden on the parent. Hungarians are very evenly divided as are Greeks, while Ukrainians, Germans and Italians tend to expect the Canadian taxpayer to foot the bill. In short, there are very mixed views on costing of the teaching of the non-official language and culture and it would appear that shared responsibility would be most generally accepted if programs were to be introduced.

Another series of questions probed parents' attitudes towards their own children taking courses in ethnic history and culture. Parents in the sample were asked:

If there were language courses in the local public and secondary schools in which _____ was taught, would you insist that your children take such courses, or just encourage them, or would you discourage them?

(language)

Table 4.75 presents the distribution of replies, by generation. (Note that the percentages in the table are based on the total sample, not just on respondents who are parents. To obtain the percentages who are parents, divide the given percentages by the total percentages who are parents.) Over half the sample (55.4 percent), or 77.8 percent of the parents, said that they would insist their children take the language courses, or at least that they would encourage them to do so. The first generation respondents more often expressed insistence, but there is also strong parental support for language courses in the schools in the second generation as well (48.5 percent overall and nearly three-fourths of the parents). In the third and higher generation, support falls off to about half of the parents. Nowhere is there a significant proportion of parents who would oppose their children's participation. In short, there is clear evidence in these results that there would be strong support from parents of all generations for the introduction of language courses in the ethnic tongue.

TABLE 4.76 Percentages with each attitude toward their own children taking non-official language courses were they available in local public and secondary schools, by generation and ethnic group

A. First generation

Attitude Toward Children Taking Courses						
Ethnic Group	Insist	Encourage	Don't Care	Discourage	Inapp.*	(N)
Chinese	14.4	29.6	8.0	1.6	42.2	(51,097)
Dutch	3.6	55.7	23.2	1.9	14.2	(53,841)
German	12.8	46.4	6.0	1.0	32.4	(190,749)
Greek	33.3	32.8	7.5	0.9	22.1	(84,877)
Hungarian	2.5	35.5	14.2	3.6	30.9	(28,930)
Italian	27.3	43.0	7.3	1.2	17.4	(312,414)
Polish	10.3	42.9	11.5	0.0	30.7	(44,115)
Portuguese	13.2	36.9	11.5	6.2	26.5	(57,053)
Scandinavian	2.3	57.9	22.3	1.2	14.9	(23,996)
Ukrainian	26.7	38.6	7.7	0.5	25.6	(63,378)
Total	19.5	42.2	9.1	1.5	24.3	(910,449)

*Includes respondents having no children.

TABLE 4.76 B. Second generation

Attitude Toward Children Taking Courses						
Ethnic Group	Insist	Encourage	Don't Care	Discourage	Inapp.*	(N)
Chinese	—	—	—	—	—	(4,956)
Dutch	0.0	38.1	22.6	0.0	38.9	(11,638)
German	5.8	53.0	14.4	1.3	25.5	(53,626)
Greek	—	—	—	—	—	(3,076)
Hungarian	0.0	27.4	5.4	0.0	66.2	(5,235)
Italian	4.4	33.4	11.3	0.0	43.1	(52,638)
Polish	2.8	34.8	20.7	2.7	39.0	(37,261)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	—	(0)
Scandinavian	1.7	46.3	15.1	0.8	33.8	(30,866)
Ukrainian	11.5	45.7	14.5	0.0	25.3	(80,423)
Total	6.5	42.0	14.6	0.7	33.5	(279,717)

*Includes respondents having no children.

TABLE 4.76 C. Third generation

Attitude Toward Children Taking Courses					
Ethnic Group	Insist	Encourage	Don't Care	Discourage	Inapp.*
					(N)
Chinese	—	—	—	—	—
Dutch	0.0	10.5	29.5	5.3	54.7
German	1.0	27.2	24.3	1.9	45.0
Greek	—	—	—	—	—
Hungarian	—	—	—	—	—
Italian	—	—	—	—	—
Polish	1.1	25.0	28.4	2.4	36.1
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	—
Scandinavian	1.2	30.4	23.4	4.2	40.8
Ukrainian	8.3	36.9	13.7	1.2	37.6
Total	3.8	27.7	18.3	2.7	46.2

*Includes respondents having no children.

Group-by-group comparisons are presented in Table 4.76. Among immigrants, strongest parental support exists for Greek, Italian and Ukrainian respondents. For each of these groups, more than one-third indicated that they would **insist** upon their children taking courses in the non-official languages and less than 1.5 percent of parents implied rejection of the idea. Only among the Dutch and Scandinavians is there much indifference on the provision and use of courses in the ancestral language for their children, and none of the groups express opposition. If the quality of available courses is still generally poorer than that of similar courses offered in French and English, as some studies have suggested has been the case in the past, then our data imply that the groups concerned are forced to accept an inferior product.

Among second generation respondents, it is primarily the Ukrainians who insist on their children's involvement in potential courses and they accounted for most of the strength of the insistence in this generational category. Almost no group was opposed to the implied principle of providing courses, and in every case more than half the applicable respondents would encourage their children to take the courses. A similar pattern was found for the third generation respondents.

Parents were also asked their attitude towards their children taking courses **given** in the non-official language. The answers given were very similar (see Table 4.77) to those given to the question on language courses. Group-by-group results are presented in Table 4.78 for first, second and third generation:

There seems little doubt that strong support exists among parents for their children to receive formal and functional instruction and practice in their ancestral language. Of course, education is easy to recommend, particularly for others. But the significant amount of insistent support among immigrants, and the almost absolute lack of opposition, cannot be entirely dismissed. Neither, of course, can the fall-off in insistence from

TABLE 4.77 Percentages with each attitude toward their own children taking courses in which the non-official language was the language of instruction, by generation

Attitude Toward Children Taking Courses							(N)
Generation	Insist	Encourage	Don't Care	Discourage	Don't Know	Inapp.*	
First Generation	18.2	42.0	10.1	2.1	3.0	23.4	(910,449)
Second Generation	5.3	40.7	17.4	1.9	0.5	33.5	(279,717)
Third Generation	3.7	31.0	15.2	2.3	1.0	46.2	(128,091)
Older Families	1.0	17.6	21.0	3.6	6.6	45.8	(25,342)
Total	13.8	40.3	12.3	2.1	2.4	28.1	(1,343,595)

*Includes respondents having no children.

TABLE 4.78 Percentages with each attitude toward their own children taking courses in which the non-official language was the language of instruction, by generation and ethnic group

A. First generation

Attitude Toward Children Taking Courses							(N)
Ethnic Group	Insist	Encourage	Don't Care	Discourage	Don't Know	Inapp.*	
Chinese	12.0	31.8	7.9	1.3	4.7	42.2	(51,097)
Dutch	1.9	60.7	20.9	1.3	0.3	14.2	(53,841)
German	10.0	44.0	8.8	2.0	4.0	30.1	(190,749)
Greek	33.1	33.3	7.5	1.3	2.2	22.1	(84,877)
Hungarian	6.4	38.9	11.4	3.6	8.2	28.2	(28,930)
Italian	25.2	44.7	6.8	2.8	1.9	16.9	(312,414)
Polish	10.9	40.5	11.9	0.2	5.2	30.5	(44,115)
Portuguese	12.8	33.4	18.7	3.7	7.9	23.4	(57,053)
Scandinavian	3.0	55.0	25.2	0.0	0.5	14.9	(23,996)
Ukrainian	28.9	32.8	11.2	0.5	1.0	25.6	(63,378)
Total	18.2	42.0	10.1	2.1	3.0	23.4	(910,449)

*Includes respondents having no children.

TABLE 4.78 B. Second generation

Attitude Toward Children Taking Courses							
Ethnic Group	Insist	Encourage	Don't Care	Discourage	Don't Know	Inapp.*	(N)
Chinese	—	—	—	—	—	—	(4,956)
Dutch	0.0	31.8	23.3	5.2	0.4	38.9	(11,638)
German	3.3	52.0	17.9	1.3	0.0	25.5	(53,626)
Greek	—	—	—	—	—	—	(3,076)
Hungarian	0.0	23.2	5.4	4.2	1.1	66.2	(5,235)
Italian	2.8	36.5	16.6	1.0	0.0	43.1	(52,638)
Polish	1.1	37.4	18.1	3.8	0.6	39.0	(37,261)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	—	—	(0)
Scandinavian	1.3	41.9	19.3	1.8	1.8	33.8	(30,866)
Ukrainian	11.6	41.1	17.7	1.6	0.7	25.3	(80,423)
Total	5.3	40.7	17.4	1.9	0.5	33.5	(279,717)

*Includes respondents having no children.

TABLE 4.78 C. Third generation

Attitude Toward Children Taking Courses							
Ethnic Group	Insist	Encourage	Don't Care	Discourage	Don't Know	Inapp.*	(N)
Chinese	—	—	—	—	—	—	(1,197)
Dutch	0.0	9.7	30.4	5.3	0.0	54.7	(6,003)
German	1.6	33.5	17.0	2.3	0.0	45.0	(44,471)
Greek	—	—	—	—	—	—	(689)
Hungarian	—	—	—	—	—	—	(620)
Italian	—	—	—	—	—	—	(17,048)
Polish	1.1	37.7	17.0	3.7	3.3	36.1	(9,039)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	—	—	(0)
Scandinavian	2.2	32.7	21.3	3.0	0.0	40.8	(12,901)
Ukrainian	6.9	37.5	13.7	1.2	2.1	37.6	(36,125)
Total	3.7	31.0	15.2	2.3	1.0	46.2	(128,091)

*Includes respondents having no children.

TABLE 4.79 Percentages assigning each degree of importance to more ethnic schools in Canada as a means of language retention, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Degree of Importance					(N)
	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Indiff.	Unimp.	No Answer	
Chinese	27.6	33.6	11.9	21.7	2.7	(57,636)
Dutch	7.5	17.1	2.1	51.1	17.7	(76,637)
German	16.2	20.0	4.7	41.7	12.2	(303,877)
Greek	54.3	22.4	5.4	15.9	1.3	(88,642)
Hungarian	15.3	26.0	8.5	42.5	5.5	(34,866)
Italian	38.5	24.7	5.2	24.8	4.2	(382,502)
Polish	15.4	27.9	5.9	34.6	10.6	(91,066)
Portuguese	22.7	15.9	8.2	31.8	14.7	(57,365)
Scandinavian	8.3	19.1	1.6	51.0	18.1	(69,353)
Ukrainian	28.6	34.3	4.8	25.1	4.4	(181,656)
Total	26.5	24.3	5.2	32.1	8.2	(1,343,598)

generation to generation be dismissed. This may well reflect the diminishing importance of the language as a means of communication between members of the groups concerned, so that a language requirement for children becomes in later generations only a language preference.

Ethnic schools are in widespread use for most ethnic groups, and these schools were the specific topic of some of our interview questions. Tables 4.79 — 4.80 present expressed opinions on the importance of more and better ethnic schools. Twenty-six and a half percent of the sample felt that it was important to provide more ethnic schools. The need was apparently felt most strongly by Greek (54.3 percent) and Italian (38.5 percent) respondents and least by Dutch (7.5 percent) and Scandinavians (8.3 percent). It should be noted, however, that 32.1 percent thought that ethnic schools were unimportant and that among this group were 51.1 percent of the Dutch respondents, 51.0 percent of Scandinavians, 42.5 percent of all Hungarians and 41.7 percent of Germans.

The data overall do not strongly support claims that there is very great support for the establishment and funding of large numbers of ethnic schools. However, there is no doubt that among specific groups such schools are considered very important indeed. The high proportion of Greeks and Italians in the “very important” category, and the fact that in these groups more than three-quarters of the respondents supported the proposition of more ethnic language schools, cannot be ignored. It was somewhat surprising to note the relative lack of such support among Ukrainian respondents of whom less than two-thirds expressed a degree of support and fewer than one-third were strongly in favour of more schools.

Table 4.80 presents data on the responses to the questions concerning the importance of better ethnic schools. Overall, a quarter of the sample indicated that they

TABLE 4.80 Percentages assigning each degree of importance to better ethnic schools in Canada as a means of language retention, by ethnic groups

Ethnic Group	Degree of Importance					(N)
	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Indiff.	Unimp.	No Answer	
Chinese	37.4	23.6	7.5	20.1	3.9	(57,636)
Dutch	4.1	7.2	3.1	44.5	19.8	(76,637)
German	13.6	21.0	4.0	38.3	12.2	(303,877)
Greek	59.0	14.7	5.9	16.5	1.3	(88,642)
Hungarian	17.0	24.3	9.2	33.4	5.5	(34,866)
Italian	40.8	20.2	4.9	21.0	4.7	(382,503)
Polish	13.2	29.8	6.0	26.4	11.0	(91,066)
Portuguese	18.9	19.4	10.2	24.4	14.7	(57,365)
Scandinavian	6.0	14.3	5.2	47.5	19.6	(69,353)
Ukrainian	26.2	29.6	6.9	22.7	4.4	(181,656)
Total	26.4	21.1	5.5	28.3	8.6	(1,343,599)

thought it very important that better ethnic schools be provided. However, 28.3 percent did not agree. Heaviest support for better schools came from Greeks (59 percent), Italians (40.8 percent), Chinese (37.4 percent) and Ukrainians (26.2 percent). Least support was apparent among Dutch (4.1 percent), Scandinavians (6.0 percent), Polish (13.2 percent) and Germans (13.6 percent). Among those who considered that better ethnic schools were not important were 47.5 percent of Scandinavians, 44.5 percent of the Dutch, 38.3 percent of Germans and 33.4 percent of Hungarians. It is difficult to interpret these data at this point since a planned study of the schools was not undertaken. It is doubtful that the results indicate any major dissatisfaction with the general efforts of the schools, but it is not possible to assume that they are regarded as highly satisfactory.

When the degree of knowledge of the ethnic language is considered in conjunction with the question of support for more ethnic schools, it can be seen that overall support rises with level of language knowledge (Table 4.81). More than one third of fluent respondents indicated that more schools were very important, while 21.8 percent of those possessing some knowledge agreed. However, only 10.9 percent of the respondents with no knowledge of the language shared this view.

These data certainly indicate that differences occur between classifications and there is no doubt that these are significantly different from chance. However, it is not clear from the data whether other factors such as self-identification or level of generation are the more important correlates. Nevertheless, a relationship does exist between language knowledge and the degree of support for more ethnic schools. Those possessing more knowledge will generally be more likely to believe that more ethnic schools are necessary.

On a group-by-group comparison, it can be noted that the strongest support among fluent respondents is found among Greeks (57.2 percent), Ukrainians (47.9 percent),

TABLE 4.81 Percentages assigning each degree of importance to more ethnic schools in Canada as a means of language retention, by language knowledge and ethnic group

A. Language knowledge: Fluent

Ethnic Group	Degree of Importance					(N)
	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Neutral	Unimp.	No Answer	
Chinese	41.3	15.5	12.0	28.9	0.0	(30,484)
Dutch	7.8	11.4	1.3	52.3	22.9	(37,648)
German	20.9	16.1	4.2	40.3	8.8	(150,639)
Greek	57.2	24.0	3.5	14.5	0.7	(69,865)
Hungarian	19.2	23.4	10.1	40.7	5.7	(22,401)
Italian	41.8	23.3	4.7	24.4	2.2	(228,394)
Polish	23.0	28.6	9.9	30.5	1.2	(32,593)
Portuguese	27.0	16.1	8.6	36.2	9.0	(31,925)
Scandinavian	6.4	21.9	0.0	58.3	11.2	(15,641)
Ukrainian	47.9	37.9	3.6	8.5	1.0	(55,757)
Total	34.1	21.8	5.0	29.6	5.1	(675,347)

Italians (41.8 percent) and Chinese (41.3 percent). These data are very interesting when they are compared with the overall group results. The percentage of Ukrainians in favour of more schools almost doubled while the Greeks, Italians and Chinese stayed virtually the same. This suggests that it is among those Ukrainians who retain the language that most support for increased numbers of ethnic language schools will be generated. Since language retention is also highly related to generational status, it would appear that later arriving Ukrainian respondents are very concerned with the provision of more Ukrainian language schools. Weakest groups in the "very important" category are, as might be expected from previous data, Dutch (7.8 percent) and Scandinavians (6.4 percent). Among these last two groups, 52.3 percent and 58.3 percent respectively considered it unimportant that more ethnic schools be provided and their view was shared by 40.7 percent of Hungarians and 40.3 percent of Germans.

Very similar patterns occurred for respondents with some knowledge of the language: Greeks, Italians and Ukrainians all recorded high percentages of respondents in favour of more schools, while Dutch, Germans, Scandinavians and Hungarians rarely shared their view.

Very few respondents in the no language knowledge group considered more schools very important. In point of fact, Portuguese (17.0 per cent), Italians (16.2 percent) and Germans (13.9 percent) were the only groups with more than 10 percent of respondents who considered such schools very important, and only 30.9 percent overall felt that there was much importance in the provision of more ethnic schools.

TABLE 4.81 B. Language knowledge: Some knowledge

Ethnic Group	Degree of Importance					(N)
	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Neutral	Unimp.	No Answer	
Chinese	13.1	55.4	12.8	9.3	6.2	(25,042)
Dutch	9.2	22.1	3.9	51.2	12.9	(25,168)
German	9.7	29.8	5.0	46.0	8.2	(87,861)
Greek	45.5	16.0	12.5	20.7	3.8	(17,991)
Hungarian	10.7	32.2	7.8	43.7	5.1	(9,070)
Italian	36.8	28.0	5.1	24.1	4.4	(129,922)
Polish	11.8	30.1	4.6	36.1	11.7	(37,796)
Portuguese	17.3	16.5	7.1	27.2	20.1	(24,111)
Scandinavian	11.1	21.2	2.5	48.0	13.8	(20,624)
Ukrainian	22.2	32.9	5.7	28.8	6.5	(105,561)
Total	21.8	29.4	5.8	32.1	7.8	(483,146)

TABLE 4.81 C. Language knowledge: None

Ethnic Group	Degree of Importance					(N)
	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Neutral	Unimp.	No Answer	
Chinese	—	—	—	—	—	(2,110)
Dutch	3.6	23.5	1.1	47.6	12.5	(13,821)
German	13.9	15.9	5.3	38.9	25.6	(65,376)
Greek	—	—	—	—	—	(785)
Hungarian	1.9	27.3	0.0	51.0	5.6	(3,394)
Italian	16.2	20.6	10.6	30.9	21.7	(24,187)
Polish	9.9	22.8	2.2	38.5	23.4	(20,677)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	—	(1,329)
Scandinavian	7.4	16.5	1.7	49.4	24.1	(33,089)
Ukrainian	8.7	31.5	3.0	51.3	2.5	(20,338)
Total	10.9	20.0	4.5	41.9	20.5	(185,106)

TABLE 4.82 Percentages assigning each degree of importance to better ethnic schools in Canada as a means of language retention, by language knowledge and ethnic group

A. Language knowledge: Fluent

Ethnic Group	Degree of Importance					(N)
	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Neutral	Unimp.	No Answer	
Chinese	43.1	15.8	5.6	30.1	0.0	(30,484)
Dutch	4.0	1.9	2.3	41.3	26.3	(37,648)
German	18.4	14.9	3.2	38.0	8.8	(150,639)
Greek	64.3	15.2	2.7	14.8	0.7	(69,865)
Hungarian	22.7	19.0	10.9	32.3	5.7	(22,401)
Italian	44.8	21.7	6.6	17.0	2.2	(228,394)
Polish	19.3	44.2	6.5	15.6	2.2	(32,593)
Portuguese	23.2	23.5	9.8	27.3	9.0	(31,925)
Scandinavian	4.6	11.7	8.1	57.2	14.4	(15,641)
Ukrainian	44.7	36.4	3.7	8.0	1.0	(55,757)
Total	34.7	20.2	5.2	24.6	5.4	(675,347)

TABLE 4.82 B. Language knowledge: Some

Ethnic Group	Degree of Importance					(N)
	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Neutral	Unimp.	No Answer	
Chinese	32.2	33.3	10.4	4.3	8.9	(25,042)
Dutch	2.0	8.8	2.8	51.6	13.9	(25,168)
German	8.5	33.7	5.6	40.4	8.2	(87,861)
Greek	41.2	11.8	17.7	22.8	3.8	(17,991)
Hungarian	8.7	30.2	8.4	35.6	5.1	(9,070)
Italian	38.7	16.5	2.5	26.3	5.9	(129,922)
Polish	10.9	23.7	4.7	31.7	11.7	(37,796)
Portuguese	13.4	15.1	10.2	21.3	20.1	(24,111)
Scandinavian	8.9	16.9	6.6	43.0	15.1	(20,624)
Ukrainian	19.9	27.1	8.8	24.6	6.5	(105,561)
Total	21.7	23.0	6.3	29.6	8.5	(483,146)

TABLE 4.82 C. Language knowledge: None

Ethnic Group	Degree of Importance					(N)
	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Neutral	Unimp.	No Answer	
Chinese	—	—	—	—	—	(2,110)
Dutch	7.7	18.4	5.8	40.2	12.9	(13,821)
German	9.4	18.1	3.9	35.9	25.6	(65,376)
Greek	—	—	—	—	—	(785)
Hungarian	1.9	43.3	0.0	35.0	5.6	(3,394)
Italian	13.6	26.6	1.3	29.5	21.7	(24,187)
Polish	7.8	18.4	7.7	33.8	23.4	(20,677)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	—	(1,329)
Scandinavian	4.9	14.0	2.8	45.9	24.8	(33,089)
Ukrainian	8.8	24.0	6.1	52.8	2.5	(20,338)
Total	8.7	19.6	4.2	38.8	20.6	(185,106)

It was expected that percentages of those who considered that better ethnic schools should be provided would follow the same pattern as those obtained from questions dealing with more schools. Such was the case and the total percentages are remarkably similar to those found for the earlier question. Table 4.82 illustrates the data which suggest that, to the respondents in the study, more and better schools are apparently close to synonymous questions.

B. Religious Institutions It is generally believed that religious institutions have a major function in the maintenance of ethnic culture and language. The extent to which this is actually true can be investigated in the survey data, but the present report will be restricted to a discussion of perceptions and preferences of respondents with regard to languages used in the churches. Some information on language use in conversations with clergymen already has been presented in Section 3 of this chapter.

The religious preferences of respondents in each ethnic group are presented in Table 4.83. Our main interest is in respondents who attend so-called "ethnic" churches, that is, churches in which most of the members are from the same ethnic group. The relevant information is contained in Table 4.84. Clearly the Greeks, Portuguese, Ukrainians and Italians most often attend ethnic churches. The other group generally most concerned with language and culture retention, the Chinese, is not represented here because of the very low rate of religious involvement. The Dutch and Scandinavians are least likely to attend churches dominated by members of their own ethnic group.

The patterns of language use in church services are quite interesting (see Table 4.85). For the Greeks attending Greek Orthodox churches, exclusive use of Greek is almost universal. The same is true of the Portuguese who attend Roman Catholic churches dominated by Portuguese members. However, for the Italians and Ukrainians attending ethnic churches the use of the ethnic language is exclusive in about half the

TABLE 4.83 Percentages indicating each present religious preference, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Religious Preference								(N)
	No Pref.	Prot.	Rom. Cath.	Jew	Ukr. Cath.	Ukr. Orth.	Greek Orth.	Other	
Chinese	50.2	28.4	15.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.6	(57,636)
Dutch	13.9	59.3	21.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.6	(76,637)
German	17.0	57.4	21.0	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.0	3.6	(303,872)
Greek	2.7	1.1	2.4	0.0	0.0	1.4	90.9	1.5	(88,640)
Hungarian	13.4	21.7	55.6	3.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.7	(34,866)
Italian	4.2	2.8	91.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	(382,498)
Polish	16.0	10.3	62.1	3.9	0.7	1.6	0.6	4.5	(91,066)
Portuguese	8.4	0.7	90.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	(57,365)
Scandinavian	23.9	67.0	4.6	0.3	1.1	0.0	0.0	2.9	(69,353)
Ukrainian*	13.5	17.6	13.8	0.3	30.5	9.6	8.8	6.0	(181,656)
Total	13.0	25.6	44.4	0.5	4.3	1.5	7.2	3.2	(1,343,589)

*To Ukrainian respondents, the terms “Ukrainian Orthodox” and “Greek Orthodox” usually denote the same ethnic church which carries the name “Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church”.

cases, and mixed with English (or French) in the other half. For the Dutch, Germans and Scandinavians, exclusive use of the ethnic language is extremely rare even for those attending ethnic churches, and in the case of the Dutch, the ethnic language is not used at all for the majority of those attending Dutch churches.

When respondents were asked which languages **should** be used in church services, their responses mirrored almost exactly the existing pattern of language use (see Table 4.86). Evidently, the churches are not faced with significant conflict over the question of language use. Their members appear to be satisfied with things as they are.

In view of this apparent satisfaction, it is interesting that the use of the language in church (Table 4.87) is considered by a large majority in all groups to **encourage** language retention, rather than to discourage it by forcing some persons to attend non-ethnic churches.

C. The Ethnic Press The viability of an ethnic press obviously depends upon language retention. Whether the reverse is also true remains a matter of speculation. The main purposes of the press are to inform, to promote and to advertise, and to provide entertainment to the reader. It has never been used primarily as a language retention resource. Nevertheless, without the ethnic press there would be much less opportunity for practice in the written language on current issues and topics. Probably, to some degree, the press and language retention are interactive. Since our results in Section 3 of this chapter show that there is substantial press readership, it is also apparent that the press offers a valuable resource agency for language retention if such is desired.

TABLE 4.84 Percentages associated with church where members have various ethnic compositions, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Proportion of Church Members of Same Ethnicity as Respondent							(N)
	All or Almost All	More Than Half	About Half	Less Than Half	Few or None	Not Assoc. With Church	No Religious Preference	
Chinese	17.0	4.4	0.5	2.7	10.5	14.7	50.2	(57,636)
Dutch	16.4	4.1	1.8	9.4	26.8	20.7	13.9	(76,637)
German	15.0	6.7	6.6	9.1	19.2	15.9	17.0	(303,877)
Greek	77.2	7.7	0.5	0.0	5.2	6.3	2.7	(88,641)
Hungarian	26.3	1.7	4.3	4.3	23.8	19.9	13.8	(34,866)
Italian	38.9	10.7	11.0	10.8	12.2	8.2	4.2	(382,503)
Polish	19.7	3.8	3.7	8.4	21.5	16.7	16.0	(91,066)
Portuguese	49.9	5.8	5.6	1.9	14.8	12.5	9.0	(57,365)
Scandinavian	6.2	3.0	5.1	5.1	25.9	22.0	25.0	(69,353)
Ukrainian	40.7	5.6	5.8	5.5	9.2	13.1	13.5	(181,655)
Total	31.2	6.9	6.4	7.5	15.4	13.2	13.1	(1,343,599)

TABLE 4.85 Percentages associated with churches in which various languages are used in the services, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Language(s)					(N)
	Ethnic Only	Ethnic and Eng./Fr.	English and/or French	Other	Not Associated with a Church	
Chinese	9.4	12.6	13.0	0.0	65.0	(57,636)
Dutch	0.0	6.5	54.3	4.1	34.6	(76,637)
German	2.8	15.8	45.7	2.7	32.9	(303,874)
Greek	71.8	15.9	3.3	0.0	9.0	(88,642)
Hungarian	17.0	9.7	29.8	6.1	33.7	(34,866)
Italian	27.9	25.1	30.2	3.4	12.4	(382,503)
Polish	11.3	18.9	32.1	3.9	32.8	(91,066)
Portuguese	52.0	6.1	16.3	4.1	21.5	(57,365)
Scandinavian	2.0	5.7	43.8	1.5	47.0	(69,353)
Ukrainian	24.0	27.3	18.9	2.4	26.5	(181,656)
Total	20.5	18.5	31.3	2.8	26.4	(1,343,596)

TABLE 4.86 Percentages who feel that various languages should be used in church services, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Language(s)					(N)
	Ethnic Only	Ethnic and Eng./Fr.	English and/or French	Other	Not Associated with a Church	
Chinese	9.2	12.6	12.2	0.8	65.0	(57,636)
Dutch	0.0	2.2	58.1	4.6	34.6	(76,637)
German	2.8	16.8	43.8	3.3	33.0	(303,874)
Greek	70.0	16.6	2.6	0.0	9.0	(88,642)
Hungarian	20.2	10.3	28.3	3.9	33.7	(34,866)
Italian	27.8	28.0	22.1	6.2	12.7	(382,503)
Polish	10.3	18.8	32.2	4.6	32.8	(91,066)
Portuguese	40.3	21.7	14.2	1.3	22.4	(57,365)
Scandinavian	1.5	6.9	41.9	2.5	47.0	(69,353)
Ukrainian	22.2	28.7	19.9	1.9	26.8	(181,656)
Total	19.6	21.2	28.5	3.7	26.5	(1,343,596)

TABLE 4.87 Percentages who perceive various effects of church use of the non-official language on language retention, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Effect				(N)
	Encourages Ethnic Lang. Retention	No Effect	Discourages Ethnic Lang. Retention	Depends	
Chinese	26.8	5.2	0.0	0.3	(57,636)
Dutch	38.0	16.8	1.8	1.5	(76,637)
German	43.5	15.0	1.6	1.7	(303,874)
Greek	75.7	9.9	1.4	1.8	(88,642)
Hungarian	45.2	6.1	2.5	5.5	(34,866)
Italian	62.6	16.1	0.6	0.9	(382,501)
Polish	49.2	10.8	0.6	4.7	(91,066)
Portuguese	48.6	19.5	0.4	0.1	(57,365)
Scandinavian	30.8	14.8	1.2	1.5	(69,353)
Ukrainian	61.2	7.0	1.3	1.8	(181,653)
Total	52.4	13.2	1.1	1.7	(1,343,592)

TABLE 4.88 Percentages assigning each degree of importance to more ethnic newspapers in Canada, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Degree of Importance					(N)
	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Indiff.	Unimp.	No Answer	
Chinese	18.2	24.9	12.1	37.3	2.7	(57,636)
Dutch	6.8	18.0	5.3	45.6	17.7	(76,637)
German	5.0	18.0	4.7	55.6	12.0	(303,876)
Greek	24.5	20.0	18.2	33.2	1.3	(88,642)
Hungarian	7.8	21.4	13.7	50.0	5.5	(34,866)
Italian	23.3	19.6	9.9	40.0	4.2	(382,503)
Polish	13.7	19.5	8.1	43.0	10.6	(91,066)
Portuguese	12.8	23.9	10.3	32.2	14.7	(57,365)
Scandinavian	7.9	20.3	3.6	46.9	18.1	(69,353)
Ukrainian	12.4	30.1	10.8	38.6	4.4	(181,656)
Total	14.3	21.1	8.9	43.5	8.1	(1,343,599)

Tables 4.88 and 4.89 present data on the perceived importance of more ethnic newspapers in Canada and on the importance of providing better publications. These data indicate that few respondents (14.3 percent) consider that more newspapers are very necessary, but 21.1 percent view the matter as somewhat important, while 8.9 percent are indifferent and 43.5 percent believe that it is not important to provide more ethnic newspapers. Most support for additional papers came from Greeks (24.5 percent) and Italians (23.3 percent), and least from Germans (5.0 percent), Dutch (6.8 percent), Hungarians (7.8 percent) and Scandinavians (7.9 percent).

There was more agreement on the need to improve the quality of existing ethnic newspapers. A fairly high percentage (19.0) of the total number of respondents suggested that it was very important that better newspapers be provided. For example, 40.7 percent of Chinese, 34.7 percent of Greeks and 26.7 percent of Italians indicated a need for better publications. These views were shared by only 7.1 percent of the Dutch and 9.7 percent of the Scandinavians. Approximately one-third of all respondents felt that there was little need for better newspapers and eight percent were indifferent to the question. Among those groups who felt it unimportant, Germans (45.2 percent) and Hungarians (45.2 percent) returned the highest percentages. They were generally supported by Dutch (39.6 percent), Italian (34.5 percent) and Ukrainian (34.4 percent) respondents.

In summary, few people are anxious to see more ethnic papers, although some, especially the Chinese who were earlier noted as having substantial interest in the ethnic press, would prefer better quality publications. Of course, it must be noted that there is usually a positive response to questions dealing with improvements in quality, and the results obtained do not necessarily suggest that a marked **lack** of quality is present in the existing ethnic press as far as the respondents were concerned.

TABLE 4.89 Percentages assigning each degree of importance to better ethnic newspapers in Canada, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Degree of Importance					(N)
	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Indiff.	Unimp.	No Answer	
Chinese	40.7	20.3	5.8	20.7	2.7	(57,636)
Dutch	7.1	13.5	4.9	39.6	18.0	(76,637)
German	10.3	19.5	5.3	45.2	12.0	(303,877)
Greek	34.7	17.9	15.6	25.6	1.3	(88,642)
Hungarian	14.4	20.3	9.9	45.2	5.5	(34,866)
Italian	26.7	19.7	8.4	34.5	4.7	(382,503)
Polish	13.3	25.6	9.9	30.4	11.0	(91,066)
Portuguese	14.9	24.2	8.7	29.9	14.7	(57,365)
Scandinavian	9.7	14.6	3.5	43.5	18.8	(69,353)
Ukrainian	16.3	27.0	10.0	34.4	4.4	(181,656)
Total	19.0	20.5	8.0	36.3	8.4	(1,343,599)

TABLE 4.90 Percentages who read ethnic newspapers or bulletins containing sections in English or French, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Response				(N)
	Yes	No	Don't Know	Never Read Ethnic Press	
Chinese	31.2	38.8	2.2	27.8	(57,636)
Dutch	32.2	15.2	0.0	52.6	(76,637)
German	13.8	29.1	2.3	54.7	(303,872)
Greek	15.8	38.6	0.0	43.9	(88,642)
Hungarian	9.9	42.3	0.0	47.8	(34,866)
Italian	25.1	32.0	1.1	41.4	(382,501)
Polish	22.5	14.7	0.7	61.4	(91,066)
Portuguese	12.9	29.5	0.0	56.8	(57,365)
Scandinavian	12.8	10.1	0.0	76.8	(69,353)
Ukrainian	21.0	13.4	0.1	65.4	(181,652)
Total	20.3	26.5	1.0	51.9	(1,343,589)

TABLE 4.91 Percentages who feel ethnic newspapers and bulletins should contain sections written in English and French, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Response					(N)
	Yes	No	Depends	Don't Care	Never Read Ethnic Press	
Chinese	22.9	31.6	5.9	5.2	31.0	(57,636)
Dutch	22.1	17.5	1.0	5.9	52.6	(76,637)
German	10.9	29.6	1.4	2.1	54.9	(303,872)
Greek	19.1	29.4	2.0	4.4	43.9	(88,642)
Hungarian	11.1	37.3	0.0	2.6	47.8	(34,866)
Italian	25.6	23.2	3.1	4.6	41.4	(382,501)
Polish	16.8	13.4	4.7	3.5	61.4	(91,066)
Portuguese	12.1	23.4	1.1	5.8	56.8	(57,365)
Scandinavian	6.3	14.1	0.3	1.1	77.2	(69,353)
Ukrainian	17.1	13.8	0.2	3.2	65.4	(181,652)
Total	17.8	23.1	2.1	3.7	52.1	(1,343,590)

Many ethnic publications written in the ethnic language contain parts written in English or French. Just under half the readers reported that the ethnic publications they read contain such parts (see Table 4.90). This was most often found among the Dutch, Poles, Scandinavians and Ukrainians; least often among the Germans, Hungarians, Portuguese and Greeks.

When asked whether these English or French sections **should** appear, again just under half felt that they should (Table 4.91). Of the whole sample, 17.8 percent felt this would be desirable, 23.1 percent disagreed and 3.7 percent did not care. Strongest support for inclusion of French and English came from Italians (25.6 percent versus 23.2 percent opposed), Dutch (22.1 percent versus 17.5 percent opposed) and Ukrainians (17.1 percent versus 13.8 percent opposed). Strongest disagreement was expressed by Hungarians (37.3 percent versus 11.1 percent in favour), Portuguese (23.4 percent versus 12.1 percent in favour), Germans (29.6 percent versus 10.9 percent in favour) and Greeks (29.4 percent versus 19.1 percent in favour). It appears that preferences with regard to language use in the ethnic press correspond rather well with existing readership patterns.

Some ethnic publications are written entirely in English or French. These would be linguistically accessible to almost our entire sample, but only 10.8 percent had read any of them in the previous year (Table 4.92). Almost a quarter of all Dutch respondents had read them in English or French, as had 18.1 percent of Chinese and 13.9 percent of Ukrainians. Overall, the ethnic press written in official languages plays a rather minor role in most ethnic communities.

D. Ethnic Radio and Television We saw in Section 3 of this chapter that radio and television audiences for ethnic programming are smaller than press readership. A major reason is that for many respondents, such programming, particularly television

TABLE 4.92 Percentages who read ethnic newspapers or bulletins written entirely in English or French, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Readership		(N)
	Yes	No	
Chinese	18.1	81.9	(57,636)
Dutch	22.8	77.2	(76,637)
German	10.9	89.1	(303,870)
Greek	8.8	91.2	(88,640)
Hungarian	8.9	91.1	(34,866)
Italian	7.0	92.7	(382,498)
Polish	10.3	89.7	(91,064)
Portuguese	11.4	88.6	(57,365)
Scandinavian	8.2	91.8	(69,353)
Ukrainian	13.9	86.1	(181,650)
Total	10.8	89.1	(1,343,578)

TABLE 4.93 Percentages expressing various degrees of interest in listening to non-official language radio programs should such programs become available, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Degree of Interest					(N)
	Very Int.	Somewhat Int.	Unint.	Depends	Programs Are Available, or No Knowledge Language	
Chinese	13.1	18.4	10.9	2.2	53.5	(57,636)
Dutch	5.3	5.0	18.9	0.6	69.7	(76,637)
German	2.4	4.2	16.5	2.0	74.8	(303,871)
Greek	1.5	2.3	5.3	0.4	89.3	(88,641)
Hungarian	12.4	20.1	23.7	2.9	41.0	(34,866)
Italian	1.3	2.1	6.3	1.0	89.0	(382,498)
Polish	6.7	6.4	14.2	4.7	66.3	(91,066)
Portuguese	5.1	3.5	7.2	0.0	83.5	(57,365)
Scandinavian	8.1	15.8	16.0	1.2	58.4	(69,353)
Ukrainian	7.1	12.0	11.6	1.8	67.3	(181,652)
Total	4.2	6.3	11.7	1.6	75.7	(1,343,584)

TABLE 4.94 Percentages expressing various degrees of interest in various non-official language television programs should such programs become available, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Degree of Interest					(N)
	Very Int.	Somewhat Int.	Unint.	Depends	Programs are Available or No Language Knowledge	
Chinese	23.3	17.4	7.6	8.8	41.9	(57,636)
Dutch	10.9	29.3	33.9	5.4	19.0	(76,637)
German	10.1	15.7	26.2	3.3	44.2	(303,874)
Greek	6.0	4.9	11.6	0.0	77.2	(88,642)
Hungarian	15.4	24.5	9.3	4.1	46.0	(34,866)
Italian	2.6	5.4	4.9	0.9	86.1	(382,499)
Polish	24.9	17.6	16.0	7.8	32.5	(91,066)
Portuguese	20.5	10.0	7.7	1.9	59.1	(57,365)
Scandinavian	10.5	14.9	24.7	1.4	48.0	(69,353)
Ukrainian	37.7	25.8	15.1	2.6	18.6	(181,655)
Total	13.6	14.3	15.4	2.8	53.4	(1,343,592)

programming, is not available. Here data are presented on the interest expressed in the improvement of ethnic radio and television facilities.

Of those respondents who were not aware of any ethnic radio programming in their area (approximately 25 percent of the sample) about one-sixth (4.2 percent of all respondents) suggested that they would be very interested in hearing programs were they available; about a quarter said they were somewhat interested; close to one-half had no interest at all (see Table 4.93). Chinese and Hungarians (who were apparently not well-served by radio programs), and Scandinavians and Ukrainians had higher proportions of respondents expressing interest than were apparent in other groups. The study did not have the resources available to compare responses with actual programs available during data collecting. Nevertheless, the results should be valid in so far as they reflect the respondents' awareness of programs and the use made of such offerings.

Television programming was reportedly much less available to respondents than was radio, but more interest was expressed in such television programming by those for whom no programming was available than was the case for interest in radio. Table 4.94 presents data obtained when respondents were asked to give an estimate of the degree of interest in having television in the ethnic language provided for them. The large "inappropriate" category contains primarily those respondents who had no knowledge of their ethnic language as well as those who did have access to programs. Of those who did not, a little less than one-third (13.6 percent of all respondents) expressed strong interest in the provision of non-official language television while a similar number (14.3 percent) was somewhat interested. Again, approximately one-

third (15.4 percent) was not. Very strong support for television programming was shown by Chinese, of whom five respondents expressed interest for every one not interested. There were rather similar findings for Ukrainians who returned a ratio of approximately 4 to 1 as did Hungarians and Portuguese. By contrast, the Dutch, Germans, Scandinavians and Greeks were almost equally divided.

Respondents were asked to estimate the importance of having more (Table 4.95) and better (Table 4.96) radio and television programming in non-official languages in Canada. Overall results are very similar in both instances; 29.5 percent thought more programming was very important, while 32.1 percent considered that better programming was equally essential. In the "somewhat important" category, 25.4 percent suggested more programming and 23 percent requested better programming. Six percent of all respondents were indifferent to more programs and 28.2 percent considered it an "unimportant" problem; at the same time, 5.5 percent were indifferent to better programming and 26.4 percent felt it to be "unimportant".

On a group-by-group basis, strongest support for more and better non-official language radio and television broadcasting came from Greeks (50.7 percent; 56.2 percent), Italians (42.4 percent; 46.6 percent), Chinese (39.1 percent; 45.1 percent) and Ukrainians (33.5 percent; 29.9 percent). Least support was evident among Scandinavians (9.6 percent; 10.2 percent), Germans (13.9 percent; 18.5 percent) and Dutch (14.2 percent; 12.5 percent). These groups also reported the highest percentages of uninterested respondents.

The problem of radio and television programming for ethnic groups in Canada is to some extent illustrated in the data. Currently, there is very little quality programming, especially in television, and there is a lack of awareness of what could be achieved. There may also be a latent interest in ethnic language programs which would come to

TABLE 4.95 Percentages assigning various degrees of importance to more non-official language television programming, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Degree of Importance					(N)
	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Indiff.	Unimp.	No Answer	
Chinese	39.1	35.3	7.0	13.9	2.7	(57,636)
Dutch	14.2	21.7	4.1	37.4	17.7	(76,637)
German	13.9	24.7	5.3	39.6	12.0	(303,877)
Greek	50.7	19.8	8.8	18.8	1.3	(88,642)
Hungarian	23.1	27.8	9.6	33.8	5.5	(34,866)
Italian	42.4	20.2	7.2	24.6	4.2	(382,502)
Polish	24.4	30.8	4.6	25.9	10.6	(91,066)
Portuguese	27.6	24.8	4.6	23.6	14.7	(57,365)
Scandinavian	9.6	23.5	2.1	41.4	18.4	(69,353)
Ukrainian	33.5	36.5	5.6	18.8	4.6	(181,656)
Total	29.5	25.4	6.0	28.2	8.2	(1,343,599)

TABLE 4.96 Percentages assigning various degrees of importance to better non-official language television programming, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Degree of Importance					(N)
	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Indiff.	Unimp.	No Answer	
Chinese	45.1	24.5	7.4	12.3	6.9	(57,636)
Dutch	12.5	18.4	5.3	36.6	17.9	(76,637)
German	18.5	21.1	4.1	40.0	12.0	(303,877)
Greek	56.2	17.5	8.4	15.1	1.3	(88,642)
Hungarian	25.0	26.9	9.1	29.5	5.5	(34,866)
Italian	46.6	20.8	4.6	22.0	4.2	(382,502)
Polish	26.4	30.3	5.5	20.2	11.4	(91,066)
Portuguese	30.9	20.7	4.6	23.1	14.7	(57,365)
Scandinavian	10.2	18.4	3.4	39.0	20.2	(69,353)
Ukrainian	29.9	32.8	8.1	17.7	5.3	(181,656)
Total	32.1	23.0	5.5	26.4	8.6	(1,343,598)

the surface if production quality was high and the programming more varied and interesting. It is very difficult to go beyond this general statement now, however, since it is almost impossible to make judgements in the absence of available models. A survey and content analysis of current programming and an assessment of its quality and appeal would be most useful in elaborating the data collected in this study.

E. Other Foci of Concern Respondents were asked their opinion about a number of other items of possible concern in the context of the question of language retention, and their responses are presented without comment in Table 4.97.

F. Relation Between General Support for Language Retention and Support for Specific Cultural Facilities In this report, we have focused on support for the general **idea** of language retention, and the question arises: to what extent this general support is related to support for **specific public and private facilities** to encourage language retention. In the interviews, respondents were asked a number of relevant questions about the need for such facilities. The topics include:

- 1) ethnic schools
- 2) teaching and use of the ethnic language in public schools
- 3) ethnic language newspapers
- 4) ethnic language radio and television
- 5) cultural centers
- 6) ethnic summer camps
- 7) ethnic language books, movies, and phonograph records
- 8) opportunities to visit the ancestral country

TABLE 4.97 Percentages assigning various degrees of importance to possible means of language retention

Means of Language Retention	Degree of Importance					(N)
	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Neutral	Unimp.	No Answer	
Visits to Country of Origin	32.5	28.4	5.5	21.6	8.4	(1,343,598)
Summer Camps for Children	25.3	25.1	5.6	32.2	8.3	(1,343,598)
Ethnic Cultural Centres	31.8	31.8	5.8	19.0	8.4	(1,343,596)
Availability of Books in Ancestral Language	24.8	27.4	6.9	29.2	8.2	(1,343,599)

The purpose of this section is to examine the relationship between responses to these items and support for the general idea of language retention.

Table 4.98 presents the zero-order correlation coefficients between language support and support for each of the specific items, for each of the ten ethnic groups. General support is related to each of the specific items, but the relationship in most cases is not very strong. This means that general support for language retention is not necessarily the main determinant of support for the specific facilities. (A more extensive analysis of predictors of support for specific facilities, based on regression analyses, was carried out, but the details are omitted. In most cases, general support for language retention is the best predictor among all the variables included in the study.)

There is considerable variation between groups in the importance of general language support as a predictor of support for specific facilities. With respect to support for more ethnic language newspapers, for example, support for language retention is a relatively good predictor among Greeks ($r = 0.44$) and Chinese ($r = 0.30$), and a relatively poor predictor among Poles ($r = 0.08$) and Hungarians (0.06). The pattern is very similar on the question of better ethnic newspapers.

When attention shifts to cultural centres, however, a very different pattern emerges. Support for cultural centres is associated with general language support most often among the Portuguese ($r = 0.38$), Chinese ($r = 0.37$) and Scandinavians ($r = 0.32$). The correlation for the Greeks ($r = 0.22$) is not nearly as high as it was on the newspaper question, and the correlation for the Poles ($r = 0.28$) is not nearly as low. The correlation for the Hungarians, though, is still negligible (0.01).

More than anything else, the data in Table 4.98 illustrate that support for language retention among Canadian non-official language groups has very different specific implications in different ethnic groups. Whether or not the groups may act together on specific issues, our data indicate that each group should be considered as a separate entity.

TABLE 4.98 Correlation between general language support and support for specific cultural facilities, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Specific Cultural Facilities												
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Chinese	0.47	0.45	0.30	0.41	0.40	0.38	0.37	0.40	0.38	0.37	0.31	0.32	0.41
Dutch	0.00	0.09	0.23	0.40	0.34	0.39	0.18	0.22	0.04	0.21	0.28	0.21	0.27
German	0.30	0.26	0.25	0.30	0.29	0.27	0.32	0.11	0.18	0.23	0.25	0.21	0.06
Greek	0.51	0.51	0.44	0.47	0.45	0.41	0.41	0.29	0.46	0.22	0.54	0.27	0.34
Hungarian	0.25	0.27	0.06	-0.04	0.13	0.13	0.05	0.06	0.10	0.01	0.06	0.06	0.09
Italian	0.28	0.33	0.14	0.10	0.30	0.24	0.27	0.10	0.36	0.28	0.26	0.33	0.20
Polish	0.31	0.24	0.08	0.11	0.22	0.29	0.23	0.22	0.19	0.28	0.34	0.10	0.17
Portuguese	0.37	0.41	0.24	0.21	0.22	0.24	0.53	0.37	0.33	0.38	0.39	0.41	0.36
Scandinavian	0.37	0.41	0.29	0.26	0.30	0.33	0.29	0.34	0.25	0.32	0.37	0.31	0.28
Ukrainian	0.29	0.40	0.20	0.23	0.34	0.40	0.22	0.22	0.10	0.25	0.30	0.26	0.31

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|--|
| 1. more ethnic schools | 6. better ethnic radio and TV programs | 10. establishment of ethnic cultural centers |
| 2. better ethnic schools | 7. ethnic language taught or used as | 11. more ethnic books |
| 3. more ethnic newspapers | language of instruction in public schools | 12. more ethnic movies |
| 4. better ethnic newspapers | 8. more visits to ancestral country | 13. more ethnic phonograph recordings |
| 5. more ethnic radio and TV programs | 9. more ethnic camps | |

G. Attitudes Towards Multiculturalism Finally, in this section it was thought that a sampling of views on the federal government's "multiculturalism" policy would be of value to the reader in his interpretation of the results. When asked if they were aware of the policy on multiculturalism, only 22.3 percent of the respondents said "yes". About the same number had some vague knowledge, but more than 50 percent had not heard of the policy. Within these statistics it is interesting to note that knowledge of the policy was most marked among Hungarians and Greeks, but more than half of all Chinese were unaware of it and three-quarters of all Portuguese had no knowledge of it.

In order to obtain all respondents' attitudes towards multiculturalism, the interviewers read the following statement describing the government policy to each respondent:

Canada is officially bilingual, but it is not officially bicultural. Instead, Canada has many cultural and ethnic groups, and the Federal Government says that it will help all of these groups in their efforts to keep their own cultural characteristics and heritages.

Respondents were then asked their opinion about the government policy, and the responses are presented in Table 4.99. It is clear that multiculturalism is a generally popular policy with 68.5 percent in favour, but at the same time, 17.1 percent disagreed, and 7.8 percent expressed strong disagreement.

There also is a gradual decline in support with generation. Overall, for the first generation, nearly 70 percent are in favour while 15 percent are opposed, compared with 70 percent and 21 percent for the second generation, 65 percent and 20 percent for the third and 58 percent and 30 percent for older families. Bearing in mind the previous data which suggested that few people were well aware of the policy, these findings should be treated with caution, especially when the group-by-group data are considered, since it is not known what effect ignorance of the ramifications of the policy might have. It is very interesting to note, however, how these views are patterned in the data and these are presented in Table 4.100, according to generation.

TABLE 4.99 Percentages expressing various attitudes toward the multicultural policy, by generation

Attitude Toward Multicultural Policy						(N)
Generation	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Uncertain	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly	
First Generation	44.0	25.1	14.0	8.8	6.6	(910,450)
Second Generation	40.5	28.9	10.0	9.5	11.0	(279,717)
Third Generation	26.5	38.0	13.1	12.3	7.8	(128,091)
Older Families	26.6	31.2	12.7	12.5	17.0	(25,342)
Total	41.3	27.2	13.1	9.3	7.8	(1,343,592)

TABLE 4.100 Percentages expressing various attitudes toward the multicultural policy, by generation and ethnic group

A. First generation

Attitude Toward Multicultural Policy						
Ethnic Group	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Uncertain	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly	(N)
Chinese	59.9	21.3	10.1	3.5	4.7	(51,097)
Dutch	25.5	27.1	11.5	25.2	10.7	(53,841)
German	38.7	29.9	11.0	8.6	11.9	(190,749)
Greek	50.8	25.6	16.0	5.1	2.0	(84,877)
Hungarian	44.7	27.9	8.4	12.2	5.9	(28,930)
Italian	47.3	21.0	15.6	9.9	4.2	(312,414)
Polish	44.5	27.9	14.1	6.4	7.1	(44,115)
Portuguese	35.0	27.2	19.8	4.0	3.5	(57,053)
Scandinavian	20.5	32.3	12.8	15.3	19.2	(23,996)
Ukrainian	54.6	23.5	15.5	1.0	5.5	(63,378)
Total	44.0	25.1	14.0	8.8	6.6	(910,450)

It can be observed that once again there is strong evidence of substantial between-group differences, with Greeks, Ukrainians and Chinese being overwhelmingly in favour of the policy, the Dutch generally well distributed across the categories but tending, with the Scandinavians, to reflect a much higher degree of disagreement, and the other groups in general support of the policy. Furthermore, a similar pattern was observed for the second and third generations.

It appears that to those groups whose desire for linguistic and cultural retention is strong, the policy as stated in the questionnaire has a substantial degree of appeal. It is not so much rejected by the other groups as subjected to greater concern and in some cases there is, in fact, a significant proportion who would oppose it. In terms of the study, it can be argued that knowledge of the program is not widespread but that once the basic principle is stated, the well-established pattern of group responses appear as do the very important effects of generational difference.

SECTION 5—FURTHER ANALYSES OF LANGUAGE KNOWLEDGE, USE AND SUPPORT

The purpose of this section is to further explore relations among main variables in the study, using somewhat more powerful analytic techniques. While the main objectives of this report have been accomplished in the preceding sections, it is worth making a start in the direction of a more intensive analysis of basic relationships found in the data. We make no pretense of exhaustiveness here: space and time limintations are too severe. Hopefully, other researchers will join in the analysis of the data once they become more generally available.

The section is divided into two parts. The first presents a model indicating usual paths among the major variables as they appear across groups. The three dependent

TABLE 4.100 B. Second generation

Ethnic Group	Attitude Toward Multicultural Policy					(N)
	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Uncertain	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly	
Chinese	—	—	—	—	—	(4,956)
Dutch	24.2	39.5	16.3	5.1	14.9	(11,638)
German	40.4	22.7	9.2	11.8	15.9	(53,626)
Greek	—	—	—	—	—	(3,076)
Hungarian	12.5	59.8	3.1	17.4	7.3	(5,235)
Italian	44.0	28.6	12.7	5.9	8.8	(52,638)
Polish	39.2	36.4	8.7	9.8	5.8	(37,261)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	—	—
Scandinavian	25.9	28.3	10.3	20.8	14.7	(30,866)
Ukrainian	45.2	28.2	9.4	6.4	10.7	(80,423)
Total	40.5	28.9	10.0	9.5	11.1	(279,717)

TABLE 4.100 C. Third generation

Chinese	—	—	—	—	—	(1,197)
Dutch	29.4	13.2	21.8	17.0	18.7	(6,003)
German	14.9	46.9	10.6	19.0	8.6	(44,471)
Greek	—	—	—	—	—	(689)
Hungarian	—	—	—	—	—	(620)
Italian	—	—	—	—	—	(17,048)
Polish	17.6	39.1	27.2	4.9	11.1	(9,039)
Portuguese	—	—	—	—	—	—
Scandinavian	32.3	42.0	6.6	13.5	5.5	(12,901)
Ukrainian	37.5	26.8	16.1	10.7	7.8	(36,126)
Total	26.5	38.0	13.1	12.3	9.8	(128,091)

variables are language knowledge, use and support. The second part indicates how this model must be modified as one focuses on specific ethnic groups.

A. Analysis of Determinants of Language Knowledge, Use, and Support in Ten Ethnic Groups Combined The discussion begins with an overview of causal relations existing among the major variables included in this study. The analytic approach adopted is conventional path analysis and linear regression. This approach has the

TABLE 4.101 Correlation matrix for all respondents

	Gener- ation	Language Knowledge	Educa- tion	Income	Neigh- bour- hood	Ethnic Identi- fication	Language Use	Language Support
Generation (first generation=+)	1.00	0.68	-0.25	-0.02	0.07	0.41	0.43	0.16
Language Knowledge (Fluent=+)		1.00	-0.24	-0.02	0.06	0.41	0.36	0.17
Education (high=+)			1.00	0.07	-0.20	-0.21	-0.23	-0.09
Income (high=+)				1.00	-0.04	-0.03	-0.01	-0.02
Neighbour- hood Ethnic Composition (ethnic=+)					1.00	0.16	0.17	0.11
Ethnic Identification (ethnic=+)						1.00	0.40	0.28
Language Use (daily=+)							1.00	0.23
Language Support (very desirable=+)								1.00

advantage of convenience where the purpose is to assess very quickly the major effects reflected in the data. The limitations of this approach are many, however, and it is absolutely essential that the reader not regard the results as in any sense the “final word” on the implications of the data.

For one thing—to anticipate some of the later discussion—the “effects” of particular variables vary widely between groups. There is not sufficient space here to discuss all of these group differences in detail, even though such discussion would be important to putting the overall results in their proper context. In fact, it is not even possible to single out each important group difference for special mention. The hope is that presentation of the results themselves, together with some main lines of analysis, will generate “informed speculation” fruitful for future analysis of the data by Canadian researchers. The analysis for all groups combined will be based on the correlation matrix for major variables given in Table 4.101.

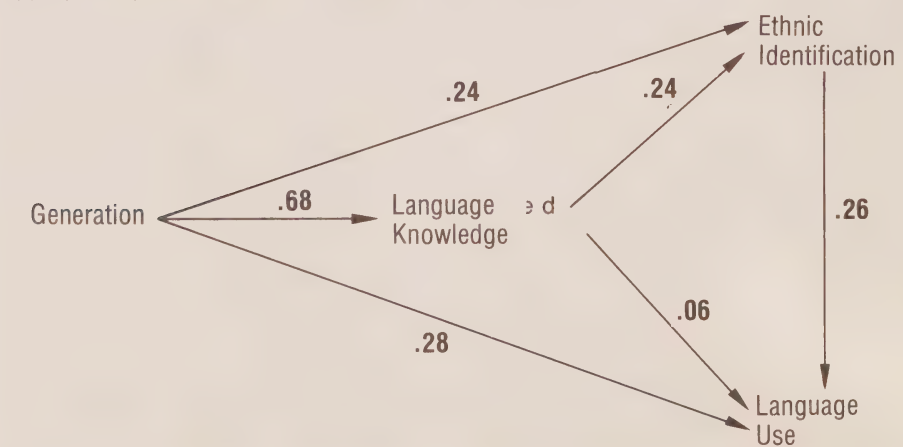
Knowledge of the non-official language is the first dependent variable to consider. Such language knowledge is most often acquired very early in life, usually before the

age of five. This is true even for respondents who grew up in Canada. Therefore, it is temporally prior to all other variables in the matrix, except for generational status. The zero-order correlation between generational status and language knowledge is very strong, +0.68, implying that generational status accounts for nearly half (46 percent) of the sample variance in language knowledge. Reasons for this effect, and other possible influences on language learning, have been discussed throughout this report.

Frequency of use of the ethnic language is moderately strongly associated with generation (0.43) and with language knowledge (0.36). The question arising here is the extent to which language use is determined simply by language knowledge, as opposed to other facilitating and motivating conditions implied by generational status.

The path coefficient representing the independent effect of language knowledge on language use is only 0.13, indicating that language knowledge **per se** actually is not as critical a factor in language use as one might expect. Of course, it is obvious that a person who knows nothing of his ancestral language cannot use that language. But remember that in our sample, most respondents claimed at least some knowledge of the language. Only 13 percent reported a total lack of any such knowledge. The path coefficient of 0.13 reflects the effect of existing variation in language knowledge on language use. The path coefficient for the effect of generational status on language use is much greater: 0.34. This indicates that language loss from generation to generation has not been the major reason for declining frequency of language use from generation to generation. Rather, declining opportunity and motivation to use the language have been more important. Complete language fluency is not required for language use; but when social conditions facilitating and encouraging such use disappear, the language falls into disuse just as surely as if it were not known at all. This is hardly astonishing as a sociological generalization, but its applicability to the non-official language groups in Canada may not be widely appreciated.

The importance of ethnic group cohesion in language use may be examined by considering the impact of ethnic identification. Ethnic identification is moderately strongly related to language use, $r = 0.40$. Its actual impact on language use can be seen by considering its relation to language knowledge and generational status. The appropriate path model is as follows:

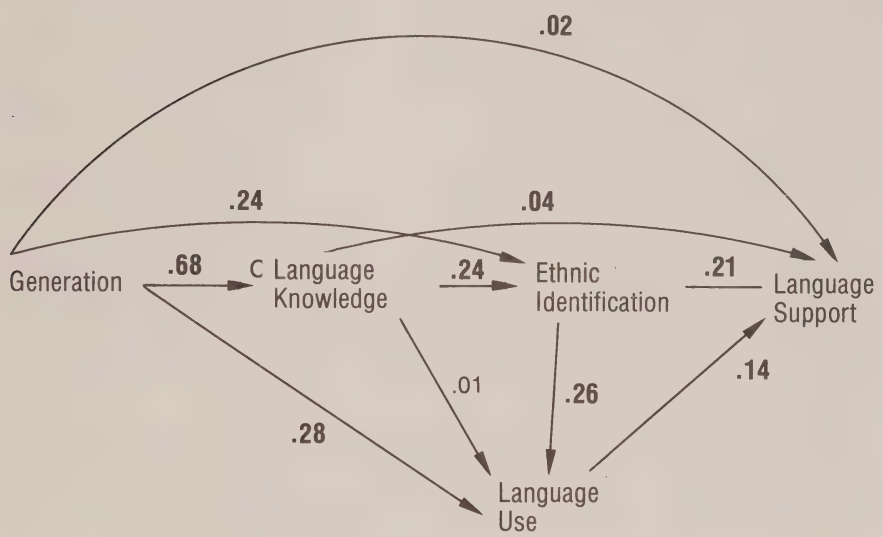


The path coefficient for the direct effect of ethnic identification on language use is 0.26. Note that the direct effect of language knowledge is further reduced from 0.13 to 0.06, indicating that knowledge of the language affects language use primarily because of its effect on ethnic identification, rather than simply because greater language knowledge

facilitates its use. That is, persons having a superior knowledge of their ethnic language tend as a result to feel more strongly that they belong to the ethnic group; this in itself encourages language use more than the fact of language itself.*

This finding reinforces our previous interpretation that lack of the **ability** to use the ethnic language is currently less important in explaining lack of language use than are various social and motivational factors. The path analysis also shows that the effect of generation on language use is partly interpretable as resulting from the effect of generation on ethnic identification. However, the direct effect of generation on language remains relatively strong, 0.28.

Support for language retention is correlated with all the variables considered so far, but its predictability is very limited. The path analysis is as follows:



Ethnic group identification has the strongest independent effect on language support; it explains nearly all of the effect of generation support. To some extent, it is justifiable to see support for language retention as an expression of group solidarity. Those who use the ethnic language, for whatever reasons, are also more inclined to support language retention, other things being equal. However, it is important not to over-emphasize these findings.

*The data have been interpreted as reflecting the effect of ethnic identification on language use, rather than an effect of language use on ethnic identification. We feel that our interpretation here is the most plausible one, but is also based on an additional, somewhat technical, consideration. The control for ethnic identification reduces the direct effect of language knowledge on use from 0.13 to 0.06, and this can happen only if identification precedes language use in time. An alternative path model, based on ethnic identification as the dependent variable, would also show that language-use cannot be interpreted as a variable intervening between language knowledge and ethnic identification. (The details of this path analysis are omitted.)

TABLE 4.102 Correlation coefficients for the effect of generation on language knowledge, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	R (= beta)	R Square
Chinese	0.43	0.18
Dutch	0.70	0.48
German	0.78	0.61
Greek	0.36	0.13
Hungarian	0.62	0.39
Italian	0.63	0.40
Polish	0.61	0.37
Portuguese	0.21	0.04
Scandinavian	0.59	0.35
Ukrainian	0.59	0.35

The striking fact is that all of the variables in the model explain only 10 percent of the variance in language support. Recency of immigration, language knowledge, ethnic identification and language use together are not the primary determinants of support for language retention. This echoes the basic finding of the tabular analysis: support for language retention is extremely widespread even in the most ostensibly “assimilated” sectors of the ethnic community.

Note that education, income, and neighbourhood composition have been omitted from the discussion thus far. This is because of their low overall correlations with the main dependent variables of the study. Again, it should be noted that this is an overall result, and does not hold up in every specific group.

B. Group-by-Group Analysis of Determinants of Language Knowledge, Use and Support In this section, the analysis is repeated for each ethnic group separately. The method used is multiple linear regression. This method has as its purpose the derivation of a series of “beta” coefficients which indicate the independent contribution of each independent variable to the prediction of a specified dependent variable. The method enables the amount of variance contributed to the prediction of the dependent variable to be estimated for each predictor variable in turn, and for their relative weights to be assessed. The method is similar to path analysis except that it ignores the indirect effects of some independent variables which may be mediated by other independent variables.

This method is insensitive to the time order of the independent variables, so that it is possible for the effects of a variable such as language knowledge to be embedded in the variance contributed by ethnic identification. This means that when the two variables appear in the regression equation, the task of determining their relative importance as causes of the dependent variable becomes quite difficult. By comparison with path analysis, regression analysis gives only the coefficients for paths leading directly to the dependent variable. It ignores indirect paths. The strength of the procedure, on the other hand, lies in its ability to progressively weight the variables to form a pattern by

TABLE 4.103 Regression on frequency of use of the non-official language, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group			Generation	Language	Knowledge	Education	Income	Neighbourhood	Ethnic Identification	Frequency of Use	
										Multiple R	R ²
Chinese	r		.34	.22	.07	.01	.09	.14			
	B		.32	.11	.04	-.03	.14	-.01		.38	.15
Dutch	r		.08	.46	.20	-.02	-.15	.25			
	B		.52	.73	.11	.00	-.20	.19		.63	.40
German	r		.42	.45	.12	.07	-.02	.37			
	B		.14	.24	.06	.08	.01	.22		.51	.26
Greek	r		.24	.39	.17	.00	.17	.27			
	B		.08	.31	.06	-.05	.09	.15		.46	.21
Hungarian	r		.40	.45	.13	.18	.21	.09			
	B		.18	.31	.07	.10	.14	-.03		.51	.26
Italian	r		.44	.23	.14	-.07	.23	.22			
	B		.44	-.06	-.03	-.06	.14	.06		.48	.23
Polish	r		.36	.43	.24	.00	-.02	.41			
	B		.12	.23	.21	-.13	.05	.26		.55	.30
Portuguese	r		.00	.18	.13	-.09	.04	.10			
	B		-.07	.19	.12	-.08	-.01	.06		.25	.06
Scandinavian	r		.20	.47	-.01	.01	.01	.52			
	B		-.10	.47	-.17	-.03	.02	.38		.64	.40
Ukrainian	r		.50	.52	.25	-.15	.16	.29			
	B		.28	.28	.08	-.14	.22	.12		.63	.40

which the criterion variable might be predicted with the maximum degree of certainty from the variables included in the equation. Furthermore, the beta weights calculated give a clue to the degree of independence of contribution of each of the included variables to the prediction of the criterion or dependent variable.

When the dependent variable is language knowledge, our only independent variable is generational status. Thus, the only relevant regression coefficients are the simple correlation coefficients for generation and language knowledge, and these are reported in Table 4.102. These range from a high of 0.78 for the Germans to a low of 0.21 for the Portuguese. The relatively low figures for the Portuguese (0.21), Greeks (0.36) and Chinese (0.43) reflect, in part, the lack of variance in generational status in these groups. Almost all the respondents are first generation immigrants.

Regressions for language use are reported in Table 4.103. The principle determinant of language use among the groups taken separately varies according to the group involved. Reported language knowledge emerges as a more important variable for Dutch, Germans, Greeks, Hungarians, Portuguese and Scandinavians, and is relatively less important among the Chinese, Italians, Poles and Ukrainians.

TABLE 4.104 Regression of support for retention of the non-official language, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group									Support for Language Retention	
		Generation	Language Knowledge	Education	Income	Neighbourhood	Ethnic Identification	Frequency of Use	Multiple R	R ²
Chinese	r	.03	−.08	.00	−.08	.14	−.01	.06		
	B	.07	−.10	.01	−.05	.12	.01	.05	.18	.03
Dutch	r	−.01	.03	.10	−.17	−.06	.08	.02		
	B	−.13	.15	.14	−.20	−.06	.11	−.04	.26	.07
German	r	.15	.17	−.08	.04	−.03	.36	.30		
	B	−.03	−.05	−.07	.05	−.03	.31	.21	.37	.14
Greek	r	.03	−.06	−.11	.01	.30	.19	.23		
	B	.00	−.18	.01	.04	.25	.12	.22	.34	.12
Hungarian	r	−.06	.09	.19	−.08	−.01	.11	.06		
	B	−.25	.18	.19	−.11	−.01	.13	.07	.30	.09
Italian	r	.20	.12	−.17	−.01	.10	.25	.12		
	B	.12	−.04	−.09	.00	.01	.19	.02	.30	.09
Polish	r	.18	.29	.07	.04	−.11	.20	.30		
	B	−.03	.20	.15	.00	−.08	.02	.25	.33	.11
Portuguese	r	−.05	.18	.19	.02	.15	−.03	.23		
	B	−.03	.13	.22	.02	.14	−.04	.23	.30	.09
Scandinavian	r	−.02	.11	.16	.07	.05	.20	.14		
	B	−.12	.22	.21	.08	.07	.18	−.03	.32	.10
Ukrainian	r	.19	.22	−.02	−.10	.01	.31	.29		
	B	.02	.02	.07	−.15	−.04	.23	.25	.36	.13

Generation was the strongest predictor of language use among Italians (beta = .44) and Chinese (beta = .32), while self-identification was the key factor for predictor of language use among Polish respondents (beta = .26).

The ethnic composition of the neighbourhood was also a contributor of independent variance to the prediction equation, except among Germans, Poles, Portuguese and Scandinavians. The highest beta weight recorded for neighbourhood was among Ukrainians (beta = .22), where it would appear that language use lessened as the neighbourhood became more integrated. This is perhaps the best example in our data of this effect. Clearly, the data do not indicate a very strong neighbourhood factor in most cases, as our earlier tables suggested that the language was used far more often among close family and friends. To the extent that the friends live in the neighbourhood, then, this variable may take on greater importance.

The present data, however, do not negate the neighbourhood's importance since it is likely to be covariant with self-identification. In other words, there is only moderate evidence that the neighbourhood is an independent contributor of variance, but it might be expected that it may affect language use because of its effect on self-identification.

Income was somewhat important as an independent predictor of language use among Poles ($-.13$), and in the opposite direction among Hungarians ($.10$). Multiple correlations ranged from $.64$ (Scandinavians) to $.25$ (Portuguese). All the multiple correlation coefficients are significant beyond the $.01$ level.

Multiple regression analysis of determinants of support for language retention when computed in a predetermined order as indicated in Table 4.104, did not produce the generally high correlation coefficients found for the other dependent variables. In fact, the range of the multiple r is from $.37$ among German respondents to $.18$ among Chinese. It would appear that support for language retention is affected by many conditions other than position within the ethnic group. Among the variables included, the major determinants of support vary from group to group.

Consider first the variables found to be most important in the overall analysis. Ethnic self-identification is more important as a predictor of language support for the Germans (0.31), Ukrainians (0.23), Italians (0.19) and Scandinavians (0.18) than it is for Hungarians (0.13), Greeks (0.12), Dutch (0.11), Poles (0.02), Chinese (0.01) and Portuguese (-0.04). These differences, of course, are due in part to group differences in the distributions of ethnic identification. Frequency of use contributed an important independent weight to the prediction equation for Poles (0.25), Ukrainians (0.25), Portuguese (0.23), Greeks (0.22) and Germans (0.21), and made a negligible contribution in the case of the other groups. These two variables were most important overall, but both are relatively unimportant for the Chinese, Dutch and Hungarians.

Other variables emerge as important in particular groups. For example, among Hungarians, language knowledge had an independent effect of 0.18 , and education contributed 0.19 . Income had a negative weight of -0.11 . After these aspects had been taken into account, generational status had a residual **negative** effect on language support of -0.25 . The general pattern for the Dutch is quite similar: a positive residual effect of language knowledge (0.15), and of education (0.14), and again a negative effect of income (-0.20) and of generation (-0.13).

Among the Chinese, residence in a Chinese neighbourhood is again the primary predictor (0.12). This may be an important finding in view of the claims of many Chinese that the preservation of Chinatowns is important to ethnic survival. Neighbourhood of residence is also an important predictor for the Greeks (0.25) and the Portuguese (0.14).

Scandinavian support for non-official language retention seems to be much influenced by the degree of language knowledge (0.22) possessed by respondents and by their years of education (0.21). Like the Hungarians and the Dutch, the Scandinavian determinants of support are varied. Note that a positive effect of education (presumably for reasons other than its effect on ethnic identification) can be seen for the Portuguese, Hungarians, Poles and Dutch.

In summary, it would seem likely that support for language retention has multiple determinants which vary in weight from ethnic group to ethnic group, illustrating further the need for interpretation of the results on a group rather than total sample basis.

The Non-Official Languages Survey was conducted to examine the main patterns of non-official languages knowledge and use in Canada, and to ascertain whether there is a real desire to support the retention of such languages as a viable source of cultural identity and preservation, among members of groups whose ancestral language is other than English or French. The survey has accomplished this objective, and at the same time has created a very rich and unique data bank on Canadian ethnic groups. The very long and detailed interview schedule has produced a wide variety of additional information of broad value to the present study and for future research.

In this first report it has been possible only to touch on the most salient issues around which the study was planned. We have included as many tables and analyses summaries as possible to better illustrate the breadth, depth and complexity of the information. We were concerned mainly with providing government officials with information on which to base policy decisions and to offer support in the field of multiculturalism. We have available all marginal data and all coded data on tape, and these are accessible to provide additional information on request.

The report is, as was intended to be, primarily descriptive. We have made few incursions into discussion of theories about ethnic groups and ethnic relations, and we have tended to avoid drawing conclusions for the reader or for ourselves. It turned out that merely to present an adequate and coherent description of information on ten very dissimilar groups was an enormous task. It is not yet possible to place in order all these facts within any clear theoretical framework, but hopefully, the study will help to convey the complexity of the required theory.

There are certain points at which the data required for description and for analysis do overlap. At these points we have offered tentative interpretations. But we do not see this report as either complete or conclusive. If the study is recognized for what we claim it to be—the first comprehensive survey ever undertaken in Canada in the field of language and cultural retention, providing a valid and reliable data bank—we shall be well satisfied with our work. At this point, however, we feel we are justified in offering our views on the keys issues as the data speak of them, and to attempt an interpretation of some of the results in terms of possible directions for multicultural development in Canada. These are the purposes of this concluding chapter.

Throughout this summary, and indeed throughout the entire report, we speak of “Germans,” “Ukrainians” or “Italians” in Canada, simply to avoid cumbersome language. It would be tedious to refer repeatedly to “German-Canadians” or “Canadians of German origin,” even though our data indicate many who responded prefer to describe themselves this way. Moreover, it should be emphasized that our sample represents only the ten largest non-official language groups, and within those groups, only persons residing in one of the five selected metropolitan areas. Therefore, when we speak of “Germans” or “Italians”, our remarks are intended to apply only to this urban segment of the designated group. The reader should bear in mind that the other segments of each group, urban and rural, may differ markedly from the metropolitan segment.

Overall, we found that substantial group-by-group differences exist on nearly all variables included in the study. Moreover, the group differences did not always follow the same pattern. Quite clearly, it is erroneous to speak of Canada's residents of other

than French or English ancestry as though they are a homogeneous "group." They certainly have in common the fact that their origins are different from those of the French or English, but it does not follow that they all stand in the same relationship to the French and the English. Some have become assimilated and seem to have lost altogether the heritage of their ancestry. Others are vigorously aware of their origin. But total group data is often without meaning until it is broken down on a group-by-group basis. The total group data cannot be taken to reflect accurately each specific group's points of view, level of knowledge, use of support for the language.

We therefore believe that policy and research would be ill-founded if based on pre-suppositions, for example that the non-official language groups constitute a homogeneous entity. It is clear that for many groups the survival of their ethnic heritage — especially their language survival — is a key concern which has both social and emotional impact. This has been well illustrated in the data that we have presented and described, and it leads us to suggest that both the principle and practice of multiculturalism are most valid and desirable when they are applied in the recognition of specific ethnic group aspirations.

These aspirations are often powerful. They illustrate the degree to which some groups in various ways view themselves as representatives of Canadians whose origins are other than English or French. But it is clear in our data that some parts of Canada's cultural mosaic seek to glow more brightly than do others.

NON-OFFICIAL LANGUAGE KNOWLEDGE The extent of current knowledge of the non-official languages is basic to an assessment of group support of language retention in relation to multiculturalism. We were unable to administer any actual tests of language knowledge. Our findings are based entirely on personal reports and are, consequently, liable to some error. Nevertheless, self-reported fluency is itself a valid variable and our results very clearly indicate that there currently exists quite extensive knowledge of non-official languages in Canada. This is an immense cultural resource which is almost lost in a single generation. Indeed, in a number of groups, even among immigrants, fluency may be lost quite quickly. Only seven in ten immigrants reported full fluency. Some of this may be attributable to a "never was" condition since reading and writing skills were included in our fluency criteria. In any case, fluency was reported by only one in ten of the second generation, and had disappeared entirely in third and subsequent generations.

There are some group differences in generation-specific rates of language retention, but these are actually rather minor differences. As matters now stand, the generational transition is a powerful force in language loss, even among those groups possessing higher retention rates. We have provided clear evidence that by the third generation the question is not one of retention but of reacquisition and primary acquisition. That is to say, despite the vast reservoir of language knowledge held in Canada by first generation settlers — without direct and possibly substantial assistance — the non-official language skills will evaporate quickly in their children, and their grandchildren will know little if anything of their linguistic heritage. It is obvious from the data obtained on this variable, that under current conditions, language knowledge will not be transmitted from parent to child in a fully fluent permanent form. It will inevitably be lost to almost all in the natural order of generational succession.

Language knowledge is greater in the two larger of the five cities. One reason for this is the tendency of new immigrants to gather and settle in the bigger metropolitan areas. But the data also indicate that this is not the only reason. Another possible reason may be related to the facilities available for language exercise such as newspapers, movies and radio programs. Higher concentrations in ethnic areas such as is the case with

Greeks, Chinese and Italians also likely contribute to the quite substantial differentials found between the larger and smaller cities. Again, this variable is highly related to specific groups so that where large samples of Greeks, Chinese, Italians and—in some cases—Ukrainians are present, overall language knowledge is greater. Toronto and Montreal do possess high concentrations of these groups and they also reflect a higher fluency rate. By contrast, the Scandinavians and the Dutch consistently tended to depress the overall city statistic on language fluency wherever they were concentrated.

Language loss in the prairie cities has been very high, and it is important to recognize the surprisingly low rates of reported fluency in Winnipeg and Edmonton, both of which recorded approximately half the Toronto rate. No doubt the factors noted above account for a large part of the difference. But whatever the reasons, if a serious attempt at language retention is to be mounted in Edmonton or Winnipeg, the low current rate of fluency becomes most significant. In all likelihood, the problem will be one of teaching rather than retaining the language.

It was expected, because of findings of previous studies which have been discussed in Chapter II, that education and income differences might be significantly, and negatively, related to current level of knowledge of language. However, overall there seems to be only a slight relationship between income and language retention in any of the generational classifications, suggesting that economic success is important neither as a cause nor a consequence of language retention. It is possible, of course, that positive and negative relationships between income and language retention do exist, but cancel each other in the overall statistics. For example, it may be that those achieving economic success are less inclined to have retained the language, but among those who are so inclined, their higher income may be a positive factor in reacquisition or primary acquisition, since currently almost all costs of such language activities are borne by the individual.

The picture is somewhat different when education is considered. Fluency is less among better educated respondents, largely because the better educated respondents tend to be second and third generation, and second and third generation respondents have less knowledge of the language. But even within generational groups, there is some tendency for respondents having more formal education not to know their ancestral language. To some limited extent, education has a negative effect on language knowledge.

Since educational levels are rising, it is important to ask why a negative relationship between education and reported language knowledge should exist. The answer is evidently unrelated to the greater economic success of well-educated persons, since income is not related to language knowledge. One possibility is that those who know the ethnic language often decide not to pursue a lengthy education because they have job opportunities which are not tied to education. A second probability is that education in Canadian schools tends to militate against language acquisition.

The time and energy required to progress to a university degree may divert attention from the family and the ethnic community, and may undermine possible efforts to retain language fluency. The educational institutions themselves may tend to downgrade and suppress an interest in ethnic attachments. Lack of opportunity to study and use the language during the high school and university years, when the child is further removed from parental contact, may reduce interest in the ethnic language and the motivation to retain it. Finally, the possibility should be mentioned that persons with different educational experiences may use different criteria to assess their own language knowledge. The more well-educated may apply a more rigorous standard and give themselves a lower rating as a result.

The evidence of a negative relationship between education and language retention needs to be considered when policy or research questions are asked, since it implies that those possessing greater communication skills or, perhaps, social and political awareness, are likely to be less conversant with the language of origin than the less formally educated persons in the same ethnic groups. In some groups, this may lead to a greater degree of negativism towards language retention from those potentially best able to express their point of view. On the other hand, it should be noted that expressed support for language retention tended to decline as years of education increased in some groups, while a reverse relationship exists in others. Moreover, in the second and third generations, which may be more important in the long-term perspective, education is sometimes positively associated with support for language retention.

NON-OFFICIAL LANGUAGE USE Of those who know their ancestral language to some degree, more than half use the language at least once every day, and less than one in ten rarely or never use the language. This clearly substantiates the view that the languages in question are in active and viable usage in Canadian cities. Language use falls off in the second and third generations even more rapidly than does language knowledge, indicating the relevance of opportunity and motivation in non-official language use.

Non-official languages are used every day or oftener by more than three-quarters of Montreal respondents and by nearly as many of Toronto's sample. By contrast, less than half the respondents in the other cities regularly make use of their ancestral language. That the question is more complex than the effect of the size of the city is obvious, and such variables as generational status, group characteristics, opportunity for use of the language, family religious and attitudinal patterns, and access to media are, again, involved.

The city-by-city differences reported in the study suggest the importance of opportunities for language use and for active language instruction, if the language is to survive the natural erosion which accompanies the generational transition.

This study has devoted serious attention to the social context of non-official language use, because such contexts help define the domains of ethnic salience, as well as the part played by the languages in Canadian life. Almost all of the fluent respondents use the ancestral language in whole or in part in communication with their families, while almost exactly three-quarters used it among close friends.

Nearly half of the respondents made exclusive use of the ethnic tongue with at least one member of the family, while more than a third did so with close friends from the same ethnic origin.

Language use falls off rapidly as one moves away from the informal and relatively intimate context of family and friends. The significant exception for some ethnic groups is the use of the language in the context of their religion. Overall, more than half spoke with clergy in the ancestral tongue, and the ethnic language is used exclusively with clergy by four out of every ten fluent respondents. This proportion is very similar to the exclusive use figures for family members and it illustrates the importance of religion in language use and retention. Use in other contexts is less frequent but it is important that approximately one-quarter of the fluent respondents made some use of the language among classmates, or in their dealing with tradesmen or professionals. Of course, we must point out that use of the non-official language outside the family is dependent upon the availability of people with whom it may be used, and could be expected to increase should there be greater opportunity and support, both financial and moral, for such use. Among respondents possessing only some knowledge of the language, it

has been seen that a substantially similar pattern occurred but with considerably lower frequencies.

There is good reason to suppose that reduced opportunities to use the language would seriously affect its rate of retention. Where there are strong ethnic communities with a high number of first generation residents—and in which there are professions, trades, and religious personnel able to use the non-official language—it can be expected that frequency of retention rates will be high and that essential viability of the language will be maintained. If language use is confined primarily to home use, as our data tend to indicate, its longevity will be dependent upon its usefulness for familial communication. When all members of the family become fluent in the official language, the narrow context of use fades and fluency vanishes. Where, however, there are other real outlets—for example in the day-to-day communication with the providers of goods and services—the potential for language use is substantially improved.

We have previously suggested that total group results are an inadequate guide to the understanding of Canada's multicultural patterns and that for a true picture it is necessary to turn to each set of group respondents. This is particularly the case in the matter of language use. We have seen that variation between the groups is most marked. As one example, we noted that more than six of ten Greeks use only Greek with family members compared with two of ten Dutch respondents making similar exclusive use. However, there can be no real justification in treating Greek and Dutch responses in the aggregate as representing patterns of non-official language use in the two groups combined.

This point should not be taken to mean that patterns in each group are sharply distinct from all others. Indeed, Greeks, Poles, Portuguese and Chinese reported very similar use patterns at one end of a continuum while Scandinavians, Dutch and Germans grouped at the other. Often the data reflect similarities among groups. This is especially so between Greeks and Italians who are sometimes joined in their viewpoints by the Portuguese, the Chinese and Ukrainians, occasionally by the Poles, rarely by the Hungarians and Germans, and almost never by the Dutch and Scandinavians. But all do share a common trait: knowledge and frequency of use of the language decline together, and generational differences are closely linked to this decline. Therefore, we believe that for all groups—whatever their aspirations concerning language retention—unless direct intervention aimed at language preservation is undertaken as early as the second generation, a lack of opportunity and justification for continued use of the ancestral tongue will rapidly reduce, and eventually extinguish, non-official language knowledge in the descendants of Canada's residents of non-English or non-French origin.

This is not to say that there do not exist in Canada mechanisms and agencies which can contribute to the retention of language. Indeed, there are many but they tend to exist for primary purposes other than the perpetuation of language skills. This is an interesting irony, since their continued vitality and viability is dependent upon such a perpetuation. Our data clearly indicate that some of these agencies would undergo substantial difficulties if immigration should be markedly curtailed. We make this assessment on the basis of our analysis of the readership of the ethnic press and the use of radio and television programming by ethnic groups.

There is no doubt that success for the organizers and producers of the non-official language media is currently very much determined by levels of language knowledge which, as we have seen, is highly related to generation. Thus, there is a potential interaction present between language retention and the non-official language media. On the one hand, the media is dependent on retention and, on the other, it can serve as an agent in retention. Fluent respondents do use the ethnic press a great deal yet

almost three-quarters of these respondents, over all groups, read non-official language newspapers. This readership was quite evenly spread through all groups.

The Portuguese, who are largely a recently arrived group, indicated the least proportion of regular users. This may be a matter of literacy rates, but it may also be attributable to the lack of a variety of well-established Portuguese language newspapers. In any case, there is clear evidence that the press is substantially used by a very large proportion of fluent first generation respondents from all groups and as such, represents a powerful agent for potential exploitation in language retention programs should these be desired.

The use of the language by audiences of ethnic television and radio programs was more difficult to measure, because of the scattered availability of such programs. However, those who knew of available programs and who reported there was fluency—or at least some knowledge of the ethnic language—were asked to report the frequency with which they watched or listened. In spite of the scarcity of ethnic television programming, a large group of fluent respondents report regular viewing of known programs but nearly one-quarter watch sometimes. Almost identical results were obtained amongst respondents reporting some knowledge of the language. Ukrainians appeared to be very regular viewers of programs in their language; Italians and Greeks also indicated regular patterns of viewing. The difficulty of the measurement became clear when the statistics for Dutch and Scandinavians were examined. Programming availability was very limited for these respondents and this is clearly an important determinant of viewing frequency. It will always be a very difficult task to accurately interpret patterns of viewing until more programs become available.

Television programming was reportedly much less accessible to respondents than was radio. No more than six respondents in every ten knew of ancestral language television programs broadcast in their area.

The situation with respect to attitudes toward the media is not clear. Of respondents who were not aware of any available television programs, a little less than one-third expressed strong interest in the provision of non-official language television while a similar number was somewhat interested. But approximately one-third was not. Very strong support for television programming was shown by Chinese of whom five respondents expressed interest for every one not interested. There were somewhat similar findings for Ukrainians who returned a ratio of approximately four to one, as did Hungarians and Portuguese. By contrast, the Dutch, Germans, Scandinavians and Greeks were almost equally divided.

It is one thing to express a general desire for programming to be made available but another to actually watch it were it to be provided. Therefore, these data should be interpreted cautiously. It can be said, however, that a substantial number of respondents do read the ethnic press and have, thereby, given evidence of their interest in using the non-official language. These same people would likely be prepared to watch programs in the ancestral language made for television. Thereafter, it becomes a question of relative production quality and interest levels. It is a truism that people will watch only what they like on television, and therefore, if an attempt is to be made to develop non-official language programming, that programming will have to be at least as compelling as its competition if it is to be successful.*

*It should be pointed out that questions dealing with radio and television in our study were formulated in terms of existing technical facilities. Enquiry was not made into the use, actual and potential, of short-wave radio transmission or about the changes that satellites might introduce in international television reception.

Particularly the Greeks, Italians and Portuguese were aware of radio programs in their local areas. The programs themselves were well supported with almost a quarter of all respondents listening to them regularly. More than a third of our sample among the well served groups made extensive use of radio programs and the medium is doubtlessly an important source of language exercise among the first generation respondents.

Apparently, the Chinese and Hungarians are not well served with programs broadcast in their respective languages. For the Chinese this may be a fairly complex problem, since there will probably be a variety of languages involved. Nevertheless, both groups reported marked interest in having such programs broadcast.

The radio program appears to be the most flexible current means of providing real-life exercise in language retention. Its high degree of general use apparent in our findings indicates that it could play a very important role in efforts designed to maintain non-official language fluency and general use in Canada.

If linguistic diversity is to become a permanent and integrated feature of Canadian society, it may indeed be necessary to encourage the electronic media to provide high quality productions in the various languages. The media have, clearly, a potential following of sufficient number to make them commercially viable if they are qualitatively competitive. We feel it would be a definite loss to ignore the contribution they might make to the frequency of language use among those who are currently able to do so, and for those who may wish to retain or regain that ability.

The crux of the study and of the policy of multiculturalism turns on the desire of Canada's non-English or non-French residents to retain their ancestral heritage. In the particular instance of this research, the key variable was expressed support for language retention. We now turn to an examination of our findings on this issue.

SUPPORT FOR NON-OFFICIAL LANGUAGE RETENTION Support for retention of the non-official language is very widespread among Canada's metropolitan ethnic groups. However one defines support, whether in terms of absolute numbers, proportions or intensity, the data very clearly show it to be substantial. In the sampled cities and groups alone, nearly a million persons — almost one twentieth of Canada's entire population — support the concept of non-official language retention. Moreover, an estimated 400,000 members of ten ethnic groups in five major cities across the country **strongly** support the concept of language retention.

Over 150,000 Italians, 66,500 Germans and 54,000 Ukrainians — the three largest ethnic groups sampled — strongly supported language retention, while substantially more in each of these groups were generally in favour of such a position. An estimated 118,000 persons from the ten groups in the five cities were unfavourably disposed towards language retention. The remaining 27,000 were indifferent. Overall, 70 percent of the respondents support language retention, and in each group, there is majority agreement that language retention is desirable. Overall, less than one in ten of all respondents were reported to find the concept of support for language retention either somewhat undesirable or very undesirable.

Were this a soft voice, or a "motherhood" vote, we might have expected a greater degree of general indifference to have appeared, but there is a most marked consistency in the data that indicates a high degree of reliability in the responses. Our evidence specifically on the intensity of support, is consistent with this interpretation. Overall, language loss was mentioned most often as the most serious problem facing the ethnic group, by comparison with problems such as job discrimination or educational opportunities. However, almost all of those who support language retention gave specific reasons for their position. Many in the small opposed group gave no reason at all.

The lack of serious opposition to the principle is striking. It is very strong evidence that our residents of other than French or English origin view their language as an important factor which can and should exist in conjunction with the official languages. We found very little to suggest even a moderate urge to suppress the language of origin in favour of the official languages. Furthermore, there are some very powerful group-by-group statistics which force the conclusion that language retention is a key issue among Greeks, Italians, Chinese and Ukrainians. It occupied much less prominence among Hungarians, Scandinavians and Dutch, but even among these groups there was fairly widespread support for language retention.

We believe our data are quite powerful on the issue of support for language retention, and that they clearly point to the need for programs to be developed to meet the expressed views of the respondents concerned. Our data also contains very detailed information on opinions about types of programs which need to be developed, and how they should be financed. On this point there are a number of conflicting views, and it is not possible for all suggestions to be implemented. But it is important that opinions do exist on these detailed questions, and should be taken into account in decision-making.

Support for language retention does decline somewhat in the second and third generations, but this decline is much less marked than the decline in actual language knowledge and use. This indicates that current rates of language loss are viewed as unsatisfactory not only by the immigrants, but also by their children and grandchildren. Our data show that the highest levels of very favourable views on support were found among first generation respondents, while the highest reported indifference and unfavourability were found among second generation and older family respondents. One in five first generation respondents were very favourable towards support, twice as many somewhat favourable, a quarter were indifferent and less than 10% unfavourable. But even among third generation respondents, a majority were in favour, and most of the rest were indifferent, rather than opposed.

Not surprisingly, we found that much of the support for language retention occurs among those respondents who already possess a substantial degree of knowledge of the tongue concerned. But this support was by no means confined to those people only. Many who reported total loss of the ancestral language expressed firmly positive views on supporting its preservation. In other words, there is support for language **diffusion**, as well as language **retention**.

It is a fact that data such as ours can be interpreted to support many viewpoints — even some almost diametrically opposed — but we suggest that the group-by-group support for language retention across all levels of current language knowledge is formidable evidence that a strongly felt need has been expressed and is worthy of recognition. This view is reinforced by the data gathered on the way in which support for language was related to current non-official language group activities which will shortly be discussed.

On a group-by-group analysis, it was clear that among first generation respondents, Greeks, Ukrainians and Italians expressed the highest percentage of first generation respondents favourably disposed towards language retention. Very similar but lower intensity positive results were obtained in groups with sufficient representation for other generations.

Parenthetically, it should be noted that support for language retention does not, in our study, adopt a curvilinear mode as some scholars have suggested. That is to say, there is no evidence that a decline for support occurs for the second generation followed by a reawakening of interest among the third and older generation respondents. In fact, the data indicate a more linear relationship with a levelling off effect as generation increases. Nevertheless, that a very important relationship between generation and

support exists has been demonstrated by the study and this should be taken into account when multicultural policy decisions are being formulated.

Perhaps the greatest significance of the analyses linking generation to support lies in their reflection of the importance that language viability holds for the new settlers in Canada. While there is a reduction of this perceived importance for their children, there is little doubt that official recognition of both a substantive and moral nature would be well appreciated by the majority of Canada's non-official language residents. It is actively sought after by several specific groups. We suggest that the data point quite clearly to the areas of greatest receptivity for active government support of preservation of non-official languages and that such support would be generally well received across all generations, but primarily in the first and second.

One of our major interests was to see how retention is related to the persistence of ethnic self-identification, that is, whether a person of Italian origin defines himself as "Italian-Canadian," "Canadian of Italian origin" or simply as a "Canadian." Almost half of those defining themselves with a simple ethnic label see language retention as highly desirable and more than one-third feel it to be somewhat desirable. Very few found such retention undesirable. Of respondents identifying themselves generally as Ethnic-Canadians or as Canadians of Ethnic Origin, a third considered retention highly desirable, four in ten felt it to be somewhat desirable and again, only one in twenty claimed it to be undesirable.

These two groups do differ strongly from respondents who identified themselves as Canadians. But in this latter group, a majority expressed general support for language retention. We believe that this is an extremely important finding. It shows that, in the minds of many ethnic group members, to become a true Canadian is **not** necessarily to become Anglocized or Francocized. Their definition of a Canadian does not stipulate abandonment of one's cultural traditions and complete conformity to the North American cultural norm.

On a group-by-group basis, among those describing themselves using an ethnic label, degree of demand for retention was highest among Greeks, Italians and Chinese and lowest among Scandinavians and Dutch. Scandinavians reported the highest percentage of respondents considering language retention undesirable, but Hungarians, Chinese and Portuguese were also relatively high in this regard. A fairly even pattern of group responses to the level of desirability was noted in respondents identifying themselves as Ethnic-Canadians.

The pattern was clear-cut: self-identification—which was closely related to generation—is a guide for supporting language retention. While the strongest support is definitely located among those who see themselves as still primarily attached to the ancestral country there was, nevertheless, no substantial overall opposition to language retention among most of those who identify as Canadians. Thus, it is suggested that a policy designed to preserve the languages of origin would be popular among non-French and non-English Canadians whether they identify themselves as Canadians or otherwise.

Years of education and language knowledge are somewhat negatively correlated. A somewhat similar pattern occurs when the variable is support rather than knowledge. There was a clear drop in expressed strong support after education exceeded eight years. Nevertheless, there were, overall, positive views on support and we suggest that it would be erroneous to interpret the data as indicating disaffection with language retention as education rises. However, the urgency of language retention may decrease among the better educated because they have less dependency on the retention of the language than do those with minimum schooling. The less well-educated

may be more dependent on their linguistic compatriots for work and community activities.

There are rather different trends in various groups. Among certain immigrant groups, such as the Italians, there is a decreasing level of expressed favourability as education rises. But the relationship is just the opposite among second and third generation groups, including not only Italians but also the Ukrainians, Germans and Scandinavians. In other words, as level of education increased, degree of favourability also increased. These data clearly indicate the complexity of patterns of non-official language group aspirations in language retention, and lead us to conclude that the impact of education should be regarded as highly group specific. Indeed, we would advise caution in interpreting data from studies on this variable unless there were very clearly drawn historical and demographic parameters, since our own results indicate that years of education tend to create different patterns according to generations, knowledge of the language, and the groups to which it is applied.

Much the same might be said for income variability, but the relationships are even less strong. When we cross-tabulated income levels with support for retention, we found very little evidence of substantial difference in terms of expressed support. Beyond a slight decline in the "highly desirable" categories as income increased, we found that income differences produced an uncertain and variable pattern within and between groups.

In effect, knowledge of income level added only minimally to our knowledge of the parameters of language support. Our data suggest that further studies of this variable should investigate possible differences in the meaning of language and cultural retention in different income groups, rather than differences in frequencies. But it may be that income level as a variable (with a possible exception in the case of Canadians of Scandinavian origin) has little to offer either to future research or to policy-making. This interpretation is to a large extent supported by the multivariate analysis results reported in Chapter IV.

It was thought likely that the age of the respondent might be relevant to the level of expressed support for language retention, but the data obtained proved very difficult to interpret on a full group basis. There was a very slight general tendency to increase strong support as age increased, but this was counter-balanced by a pattern of slightly firmer increases in expressed unfavourability as the respondents became older. This latter finding is very interesting since it suggests that, contrary to some expectations, antagonism to language retention is least among the young and highest among the old. Consequently, it cannot be argued that a policy of support for language retention would be opposed by younger members of Canadian non-official language groups. The conclusion which might be reached would suggest that age is a much less important variable in the question of support for language retention than either generation or self-identification.

Given that the question of support for language retention is multivariate in nature but strongly related to generation, knowledge of language and self-identification, we might well consider next how much each of these contributes to the prediction of support. Before doing so, however, we wish to turn our attention to the manner in which this support is manifested. We received some illuminating data on the nature and perceived seriousness of problems confronting the groups in the retention of their language which we intend to consider. Furthermore, we found that there were various reasons given for support levels, and that there were some most interesting data on the relationship of expressed support in terms of the different types of ethnic organizations that exist in Canada.

As we mentioned earlier, the groups exhibited a generally consistent pattern in which loss of language was represented as the prime cause for a major, usually **the** major, problem facing the group. This is a particularly interesting finding in the context of the study since, overall, almost a third more respondents listed loss of language over job discrimination in the most serious problem category. That such a finding should appear is very significant indeed, in that it shows clearly the importance placed on language above the more economically related problem of job discrimination. Furthermore, language loss was considered a more pressing problem than a generalized fading of customs and traditions.

Every group but the newly arrived Portuguese listed language as the main problem. While it is clear from the data that the mass of respondents were not overly concerned with a multiplicity of issues and that even language loss itself was not considered an overriding concern, there is little doubt that the variable is a key to successful efforts in multicultural preservation.

In specific group terms, it should be noted that Chinese respondents reported the highest level of perceived job discrimination and that members of this group were also concerned about the fragmentation of their communities. We suggested that this latter problem may be a result of changes in the nature of the Chinese sections in the downtown areas of Vancouver and Toronto, where the cohesion of the "Chinatowns" has been threatened by development and rapidly rising taxes. Certainly it is a problem of significance for the Chinese and it is very difficult to offer suggestions for possible solution. We do have a very substantial data bank on specific groups, such as the Chinese, and we would recommend an early re-visit to that data bank for a closer analysis. These data could be usefully correlated with other information,—for example, on the economic break-up of Chinese communities; on the program of instruction in Chinese language schools and with other, similar interesting information.

Some of our most intriguing findings concerned the reasons given by respondents for supporting language retention. Very large percentages of respondents expressed reasons related to intra-group use and to direct cultural retention. These data, when combined, show that very large numbers mention two qualities of the non-official language, that of permitting communication between group members and that of assisting the group to maintain its own integrity and cultural viability.

Of those in favour of support who were asked for reasons why language retention might be undesirable, almost one in ten felt that it may prevent mixing between group members and other Canadians. Thus a sensitivity to the possible negative effects of the use of the language on the user's relationship with other Canadians may be present. This might reflect only an awareness of the possibility that others may become uncomfortable when they cannot understand a conversation. It may indicate a concern that continued retention of the language directly inhibits relationships with others not of that ancestral language. Should the latter possibility be true, it could imply a direct disadvantage of such support. Too much should not be made of the 9 percent so responding. Nevertheless, when this percentage is drawn from those specifically in favour of support for the language retention factor, it attains greater significance. A similar trend was evident in responses drawn from those who regarded themselves as indifferent towards language retention. And as might be expected, a large percentage of respondents among those expressing opposition to language retention suggested that non-official language preservation may prevent mixing with other Canadians.

It is noteworthy that the mixing question seems to be most prominent as the problem inherent in language retention. Sensitivity to the negative effects of such retention is, of course, most significant in an avowedly multicultural society. Thus, we suggest this to be a relevant finding of this study since it documents a major concern of some members

of non-official language groups opposed to language retention. Clearly, as we have earlier indicated, these views are important since any decisions arising out of the study must take into account the effect of any changes on Canadians of ethnic origin who may be opposed to language retention.

In this study, those respondents negative to support were generally in a very small minority, but we feel that their position needs very careful analysis. We note too that views on the use of the non-official language as detrimental to complete mixing with other Canadians have been quite strongly expressed. This expression is not completely related to a particular generation or to a single non-official language group. On the other hand, there is very powerful evidence that positive reasons for the support of language retention are held by the vast majority of respondents. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that policy directions on behalf of retention would be very well received by the groups involved.

We noted earlier that we were interested in the ethnic organizations which might contribute to language retention. Our data showed that participation in organized clubs and groups, other than churches, by members of the sample was not markedly high. While it was not possible to suggest that groups and organizations are not presently factors in ethnic groups' activities in the cities studied, it would certainly seem that the various ethnic clubs are not dominant in the social structure of the respondents' lives in Canada. In other words, they currently should not be overestimated as sources of cultural and linguistic retention. It should be pointed out, however, that without such clubs, cultural and linguistic viability might be further impaired. Moreover, the club leaders may have some potential to mobilize political support for their points of view. Nevertheless, only one in ten respondents was engaged in an ethnic club or organization. To estimate the relative importance of ethnic clubs, etc., compared with similar French or English organizations, we would suggest a study, including figures, concerning the latter.

On the other hand, there may be a factor of "cultural" retention potential among the organizations used by the low retention support groups, such as Scandinavians and Dutch. In short, the possibility exists that cultural factors, other than linguistic, can be preserved by ethnic clubs, particularly those which deal with sports, arts and social facets of ethnic relevance.

The relationship of the Church to language retention is of considerable interest. It is very clear that there is a relationship between language preference in Church and support for language retention. There are hazards in drawing conclusions of a causative nature from correlational data, but we did consider it likely that the Church plays some role in language maintenance. Quite possibly, like the media and language support, the roles are interactive and the Church might, in some instances, be more strongly sustained should language be preserved. On a group-by-group basis, the relevance of the Church becomes even more notable. Its importance in the case of the Greek language is most marked. This is in sharp contrast to its very low relevance in the preservation of the Dutch language, where almost all services were conducted in Canada's official languages. It may be that a continuation of the trend towards use of the dominant local language in some churches will diminish the viability of the non-official language concerned — and possibly erode its basis of support among those concerned with religious factors.

We investigated a number of other organizations and activities which might encourage the retention of the non-official language. These included the question of more visits to the old country, the establishment of summer camps for children, the establishment of group cultural centres and the provision of more books in the ancestral language. Each of these was examined in the context of language knowledge by

groups and the data obtained illustrated the close relationship that existed between knowledge of the language and support for its retention. We have presented these data in detail in Chapter IV. Generally, these organizations do not currently play a very substantial role in language retention, but they may well be developed to do so. Currently, they receive most support from those who already have some knowledge of the ancestral tongue and least from those whose linguistic retention is very small or has vanished.

Perhaps the most direct attempt at language retention is made through instructions in group-supported schools. Since the schools are intended for the instruction of children, they are a direct expression of parents' interest in providing for language retention. Therefore, only parents were asked to consider questions regarding the desirability of children's retention of the non-official language. The data suggests an almost complete lack of opposition to children's retention of the language, even in the generally indifferent and opposed groups. We have argued that where parents are concerned, language retention is considered to be a good thing for their children whose time could be readily made available by parents for learning the non-official language. Whether this would be the case if there were to be conflicts with other activities considered essential for the child's education, was not ascertained. In any case, there is very clear evidence that the ethnic schools are an active force in language retention.

The schools were found to be in widespread use for most groups interested in language retention. Nearly one quarter of our respondents would have supported increasing their number and improving their quality. However, at least a third considered such schools relatively unimportant in language retention. In short, our respondents are divided on the issue to a marked degree.

Again the pattern changes when group-by-group results are considered. There is strong support found among Greeks, Ukrainians, Italians and Chinese compared with minor interest among the Dutch and the Scandinavians. The split is very much apparent in these data and among results bearing on the best type of school to provide instruction in non-official languages.

We have found that, in general, it is **not** the ethnic school which is most favoured, but the public school, and especially the lower grades of the public school. There is very strong and clear support among many members of Canada's ethnic minority groups for inclusion of the non-official languages in the courses of instruction and as vehicles of instruction in the public schools — especially in the elementary schools. This point should not be missed since it reflects a high degree of concern expressed by many parents for the teaching of the ancestral language to their children. Indeed, many said they would insist on their children taking the courses and almost all would encourage them to do so. The degree of intensity was closely related to generation however, and we should point out that there was a substantial lessening of insistence and a greater degree of indifference recorded as the generation increased.

Not surprisingly, a large number of respondents felt the primary responsibility for the teaching of cultural and linguistic retention lay with parents, but our data on loss-by-generation indicate this task is not being successfully borne by parents. Actually, the job of preserving language is quite possibly beyond them. We feel this is illustrated by the number — more than, or close to half in all but the older families group — who nominated the schools as the prime agent of retention.

These data have substantial importance for multicultural policy development at all levels, and we suggest that very detailed cross-tabulations of the current data and further studies by educational researchers be commissioned. The roles of educational agencies are difficult to manage because of the cross-jurisdictional problems involved.

However, it is very obvious that, for whatever they are worth, the ethnic schools are not seen by members of their groups as the best agency to shoulder the burden of language and heritage retention. There is a strongly expressed view that the best place to achieve their aim is in the public school system.

There is varied feeling as to who should foot the bill. While more than a third of all respondents in every generational group would call on the Canadian taxpayer to cover the cost of the provision of courses in, of and about the non-official language and culture, almost as many would place financing directly on the parents and a substantial number would place it on the groups involved.

In short, there are very mixed views on the costing of the teaching of the non-official language and culture, and we suspect that there would be a strong demand for shared responsibility if programs involving these issues were to be promoted, whether in formal or informal educational institutions.

There are many other areas upon which we have presented our data and which might well be included in this review and discussion, but we feel that we have touched on some of the more significant findings. The others will have to wait for more detailed analyses to examine the patterns and trends within them.

Before concluding the chapter, however, we need to turn to a brief examination of the more important variables in the correlates of language retention and support. They can be summed up quite quickly, but a detailed description of their full impact must also wait further multivariate investigation.

We have found that generation is the principal correlate of knowledge of the language of ethnic origin, and that this variable is most highly correlated among the groups most interested in language survival. Generational status strongly affects language knowledge which, in turn, affects self-identification. Taken together, these three variables are prime correlates of support for language retention, especially among groups wherein language is a strong and viable factor.

When generation, language knowledge and self-identification are included in the regression equation, they tend to absorb almost all the variance that might have been contributed by other factors. We are aware of the statistical distribution problems in some of the data—especially in the high first generation representation—but we argue that the three variables described above are very important determinants of support for language retention, and awareness of their effects should be a useful major factor in effective policy making and, where required, be further investigated.

Having arrived at the end of a very long and complex report, we must note that in terms of study of the problems of language and culture in the context of Canadian multiculturalism, we are only at the beginning. This statement is more than a clichéd turn of phrase, because what we believe to be the most important fact of our research is that it has provided only a beginning. We have, for the first time in this country, a wealth—almost an abundance—of information on our citizens and residents of origins other than French or English. We have data that will fuel research—both theoretical and applied—for several years. And we have a base against which change and effect can be measured.

We sincerely hope that our report will give impetus to initiatives in multiculturalism and provide the knowledge essential to the success of those initiatives.

Each metropolitan area was stratified by ethnic-language group, using census tracts (CT's) as units. In order to execute this task, the distribution of persons having each "mother tongue" was tabulated for each CT in the five metropolitan areas, using data from the 1971 census. The following series of decision-rules was used to allocate individual CT's to one of ten possible ethnic strata, or to an eleventh called "residual".

1. If the percent whose mother tongue was a particular one of the ten ethnic languages exceeded 1.8 times the metropolitan average, the CT was allocated to that particular ethnic stratum; otherwise, it was allocated to the residual stratum.
2. If a particular CT qualified for inclusion in more than one ethnic stratum, it was allocated to the stratum representing the **smallest** ethnic language group (to increase information on the whereabouts of members of the small group).
3. If after all CT's have been classified according to the above criteria and a particular stratum contained less than 3 percent of the metropolitan population, that stratum was dropped from the list for the metropolitan area, and the CT's allocated to other strata according to the above decision rules. (The only exception to this rule was the Scandinavian stratum in Vancouver. There were so few Scandinavians in other metropolitan areas that it had to be included in Vancouver despite its small size.)

The results of this stratification procedure are presented in Tables A.1-A.6.*

*The strata for Ukrainians and Poles were merged in Montreal, Winnipeg and Edmonton.

TABLE A.1 Montreal metropolitan area, sample strata distribution, by mother tongue

Stratum	Total Population	Mother Tongue										
		German	Italian	Dutch	Polish	Ukr.	Chin.	Greek	Hung.	Port.	Scand.	Other
German	355,245	8,775 2.5	4,585 1.3	1,655 0.5	1,485 0.4	940 0.3	1,165 0.3	1,970 0.6	2,525 0.7	480 0.1	845 0.2	330,820 93.1
Italian	355,965	1,855 0.5	81,735 23.0	160 —	1,515 0.4	2,160 0.6	530 0.1	2,060 0.6	630 0.2	850 0.2	80 —	264,390 74.3
Polish- Ukrainian	312,550	4,785 1.5	10,045 3.2	485 0.2	4,930 1.6	2,975 1.0	1,155 0.4	2,910 0.9	3,725 1.2	815 0.3	280 0.1	280,445 89.7
Greek	114,265	1,960 1.7	6,415 5.6	105 0.1	1,585 1.4	805 0.7	2,085 1.8	21,295 18.6	2,095 1.8	780 0.7	65 0.1	77,075 67.4
Portuguese	150,830	1,040 0.7	5,985 4.0	80 0.1	1,340 0.9	830 0.6	2,210 1.5	6,900 4.6	810 0.5	8,165 5.4	45 —	123,425 81.8
Residual	1,454,350	7,395 0.5	21,810 1.5	1,060 0.1	3,070 0.2	2,745 0.2	1,265 0.1	3,160 0.2	2,170 0.1	1,760 0.1	575 —	1,409,340 96.9
Total	2,743,205	25,810 0.9	130,575 4.8	3,545 0.1	13,925 0.5	10,455 0.4	8,410 0.3	38,295 1.4	11,955 0.4	12,850 0.5	1,890 0.1	2,485,495 90.6

TABLE A.2 Toronto metropolitan area, sample strata distribution, by mother tongue

Stratum	Total Population	Mother Tongue										
		German	Italian	Dutch	Polish	Ukr.	Chin.	Greek	Hung.	Port.	Scand.	Other
Italian	250,740	5,290 2.1	92,125 36.7	935 0.4	1,550 0.6	1,635 0.7	420 0.2	2,625 1.0	1,505 0.6	1,355 0.5	365 0.1	142,935 57.0
Dutch	328,520	9,430 2.9	7,515 2.3	6,485 2.0	1,665 0.5	2,060 0.6	385 0.1	570 0.2	1,210 0.4	2,750 0.8	1,160 0.4	295,290 89.9
Polish	188,675	5,990 3.2	10,660 5.6	540 0.3	12,155 6.4	11,035 5.8	1,005 0.5	2,740 1.5	1,215 0.6	2,070 1.1	350 0.2	140,915 74.7
Ukrainian	69,970	1,890 2.7	7,895 11.3	235 0.3	1,475 2.1	2,995 4.3	150 0.2	1,615 2.3	430 0.6	960 1.4	145 0.2	52,180 74.6
Chinese	155,140	3,110 2.0	4,420 2.8	510 0.3	895 0.6	1,325 0.9	9,315 6.0	6,930 4.5	1,220 0.8	1,970 1.3	325 0.2	125,120 80.6
Greek	145,845	2,635 1.8	20,070 13.8	260 0.2	635 0.4	1,030 0.7	1,315 0.9	12,710 8.7	545 0.4	1,025 0.7	195 0.1	105,425 72.3
Hungarian	250,365	6,470 2.6	17,380 6.9	1,005 0.4	4,025 1.6	2,750 1.1	2,010 0.8	3,900 1.6	6,815 2.7	1,180 0.5	570 0.2	204,260 81.6
Portuguese	132,440	1,740 1.3	29,000 21.9	265 0.2	3,330 2.5	4,395 3.3	2,490 1.9	4,410 3.3	1,185 0.9	24,750 18.7	150 0.1	60,725 45.9
Residual	1,106,350	30,735 2.8	31,995 2.9	7,240 0.7	6,185 0.6	7,885 0.7	4,430 0.4	8,380 0.8	6,320 0.6	3,500 0.3	2,900 0.3	996,780 40.1
Totals	2,628,045	67,290 2.6	221,060 8.4	17,475 0.7	31,915 1.2	35,110 1.3	21,520 0.8	43,880 1.7	20,445 0.8	39,560 1.5	6,160 0.2	2,123,630 80.8

TABLE A.3 Winnipeg metropolitan area, sample strata distribution, by mother tongue

Stratum	Total Population	Mother Tongue										
		German	Italian	Dutch	Polish	Ukr.	Chin.	Greek	Hung.	Port.	Scand.	Other
German	20,890	4,575 21.9	65 0.3	210 1.0	355 1.7	1,585 7.6	20 0.1	10 —	50 0.2	15 0.1	85 0.4	13,920 66.6
Italian	22,105	1,225 5.5	975 4.4	180 0.8	375 1.7	915 4.1	95 0.4	15 0.1	90 0.4	5 —	175 0.8	18,055 81.7
Dutch	63,505	4,875 7.7	385 0.6	1,255 2.0	905 1.4	4,995 7.9	220 0.3	20 —	200 0.3	45 0.1	315 0.5	50,290 79.4
Polish- Ukrainian	72,385	3,885 5.4	670 0.9	355 0.5	4,440 6.1	14,080 19.5	180 0.2	45 0.1	535 0.7	150 0.2	265 0.4	47,780 66.0
Portuguese	38,430	3,370 8.8	2,005 5.2	210 0.5	685 1.8	2,095 5.5	790 2.1	405 1.1	285 0.7	2,590 6.7	540 1.4	25,455 66.2
Scandinavian	38,585	3,450 8.9	845 2.2	290 0.8	560 1.5	2,290 5.9	260 0.7	445 1.2	220 0.6	145 0.4	660 1.7	29,420 76.2
Residual	284,360	13,950 4.9	1,685 0.6	2,065 0.7	2,940 1.0	11,825 4.2	620 0.2	420 0.1	905 0.3	165 0.1	1,970 0.7	247,815 87.1
Totals	540,260	35,330 6.5	6,630 1.2	4,565 0.8	10,260 1.9	37,785 7.0	2,185 0.4	1,360 0.3	2,285 0.4	3,115 0.6	4,010 0.7	432,735 80.1

TABLE A.4 Edmonton metropolitan area, sample strata distribution, by mother tongue

Stratum	Total Population	Mother Tongue										
		German	Italian	Dutch	Polish	Ukr.	Chin.	Greek	Hung.	Port.	Scand.	Other
German	37,589	4,645 12.4	145 0.4	300 0.8	345 0.9	1,725 4.6	290 0.8	15 —	130 0.3	20 0.1	345 0.9	29,620 78.8
Italian	24,100	950 3.9	940 3.9	265 1.1	355 1.5	2,550 10.6	150 0.6	20 0.1	95 0.4	160 0.7	145 0.6	18,470 76.6
Dutch	34,665	1,665 4.8	205 0.6	1,140 3.3	265 0.8	2,980 8.6	235 0.7	20 0.1	160 0.5	55 0.2	280 0.8	27,660 79.8
Polish- Ukrainian	27,455	1,405 5.1	1,010 3.7	320 1.2	815 3.0	3,340 12.2	175 0.6	45 0.2	130 0.5	180 0.7	190 0.7	19,845 72.3
Chinese	53,970	2,850 5.3	2,525 4.7	480 0.9	1,220 2.3	5,075 9.4	1,755 3.3	240 0.4	310 0.6	905 1.7	465 0.9	38,145 70.7
Scandinavian	10,065	365 3.6	50 0.5	165 1.6	140 1.4	415 4.1	65 0.6	65 0.6	55 0.5	5 —	160 0.9	8,580 85.2
Residual	307,870	14,345 4.7	1,855 0.6	3,845 1.2	2,300 0.7	14,940 4.92	1,525 0.5	325 0.1	945 0.3	335 0.1	2,205 0.7	265,250 86.2
Total	495,705	26,225 5.3	6,730 1.4	6,515 1.3	5,440 1.1	31,025 6.3	4,195 0.8	730 0.1	1,825 0.4	1,660 0.3	3,790 0.8	407,570 82.2

TABLE A.5 Vancouver metropolitan area, sample strata distribution, by mother tongue

Stratum	Total Population	Mother Tongue										
		German	Italian	Dutch	Polish	Ukr.	Chin.	Greek	Hung.	Port.	Scand.	Other
German	46,665	6,435 13.8	675 1.4	370 0.8	225 0.5	550 1.2	2,115 4.5	125 0.3	285 0.6	355 0.8	475 1.0	35,055 75.1
Italian	138,760	4,220 3.0	11,615 8.4	1,020 0.7	765 0.6	1,880 1.4	9,635 6.9	365 0.3	645 0.5	1,915 1.4	1,740 1.3	104,960 75.6
Dutch	83,165	4,165 5.0	360 0.4	2,350 2.8	205 0.2	765 0.9	465 0.6	105 0.1	215 0.3	45 0.1	1,070 1.3	73,420 88.3
Polish- Ukrainian	43,425	1,700 3.9	665 1.5	670 1.5	270 0.6	990 2.3	1,870 4.3	190 0.4	305 0.7	285 0.7	860 2.0	35,620 82.0
Chinese	54,605	2,215 4.1	1,030 1.9	365 0.7	425 0.8	825 1.5	9,150 16.8	315 0.6	325 0.6	590 1.1	650 1.2	38,715 70.9
Scandinavian	5,825	165 2.8	80 1.4	50 0.9	5 0.1	65 1.1	40 0.7	— —	20 0.3	— —	170 2.9	5,230 89.8
Residual	709,910	24,205 3.4	4,530 0.6	7,015 1.0	2,060 0.3	5,545 0.8	5,705 0.8	2,395 0.3	3,080 0.4	640 0.1	8,975 1.3	645,760 91.0
Totals	1,082,355	43,105 4.0	18,955 1.8	11,840 1.1	3,955 0.4	10,620 1.0	28,980 2.7	3,495 0.3	4,875 0.5	3,830 0.4	13,940 1.3	938,760 86.7

TABLE A.6 Sample strata distribution, by mother tongue, five metropolitan areas combined

Stratum	Total Population	Mother Tongue										Scand.	Port.	Hung.	Other
		German	Italian	Dutch	Polish	Ukr.	Chinese	Greek							
German	460,380	24,430	5,470	2,535	2,410	4,800	3,590	2,120	2,990	870	1,750	409,415			
		5.3	1.2	0.6	0.5	1.0	0.8	0.5	0.6	0.2	0.4	88.9			
Italian	791,670	12,470	187,390	2,560	4,560	9,140	10,830	5,085	2,965	4,285	2,505	548,810			
		1.6	23.7	0.3	0.6	1.2	1.4	0.6	0.4	0.5	0.3	69.3			
Dutch	509,855	20,135	8,285	11,230	3,040	10,800	1,305	715	1,785	2,895	2,285	446,660			
		3.9	1.6	2.2	0.6	2.1	0.3	0.1	0.4	0.6	0.6	87.6			
Polish	601,065	16,065	22,385	1,700	22,340	31,430	2,515	5,740	5,605	3,215	1,085	488,985			
		2.7	3.7	0.3	3.7	5.2	0.4	1.0	0.9	0.5	0.2	81.4			
Ukrainian	113,395	3,590	8,560	905	1,745	3,985	2,020	1,805	735	1,245	1,005	87,800			
		3.2	7.5	0.8	1.5	3.5	1.8	1.6	0.6	1.1	0.9	77.4			
Chinese	263,715	8,175	7,975	1,355	2,540	7,225	20,220	7,485	1,855	3,465	1,440	201,980			
		3.1	3.0	0.5	1.0	2.7	7.7	2.8	0.7	1.3	0.5	76.6			
Greek	260,110	4,595	26,485	365	2,220	1,835	3,400	34,005	2,640	1,805	260	182,500			
		1.8	10.2	0.1	0.9	0.7	1.3	13.1	1.0	0.7	0.1	70.2			
Hungarian	250,365	6,470	17,380	1,005	4,025	2,750	2,010	3,900	6,815	1,180	570	204,260			
		2.6	6.9	0.4	1.6	1.1	0.8	1.6	2.7	0.5	0.2	81.6			
Portuguese	321,700	6,150	36,990	555	5,355	7,320	5,490	11,715	2,280	35,505	735	209,605			
		1.9	11.5	0.2	1.7	2.3	1.7	3.6	0.7	11.0	0.2	65.2			
Scandinavian	54,475	3,980	975	505	705	2,770	365	510	295	150	990	43,230			
		7.3	1.8	0.9	1.3	5.1	0.7	0.9	0.5	0.3	1.8	79.4			
Residual	3,862,840	90,630	61,875	21,225	16,555	42,940	13,545	14,680	13,420	6,400	16,625	3,564,945			
		2.3	1.6	0.5	0.4	1.1	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.4	92.3			
Total	7,489,570	197,760	383,950	43,940	65,495	124,995	65,290	87,760	41,385	61,015	29,790	6,388,190			
		2.6	5.1	0.6	0.9	1.7	0.9	1.2	0.6	0.8	0.4	85.3			

The sampling procedure entailed the specification of three parameters. Two were used in the first phase cluster sampling before screening: the rules for selecting cluster units within each strata, and the rules for selecting households within cluster units. One was used in the second phase sampling after screening: subsampling ratios within each city and group. The present appendix describes how these were established.

SAMPLE ESTIMATES The efficiency of the sample could be maximized if we know approximately how ethnic groups are distributed throughout the five cities under study. This information was not available from the 1971 census at the time the sample was designed. Ethnic background data were available from the 1961 census, but significant immigration had occurred during the 1960's, and this immigration was not in proportion to existing ethnic group sizes. The 1961 census data on ethnicity, therefore, was too far out of date for our purposes. Estimates of the 1971 distribution of ethnic groups by city were made in the following way: it was assumed that the ratio of the number of persons with a given mother tongue to the number of persons from the corresponding ethnic background would remain constant from 1961 to 1971. These ratios could be computed from the 1961 census data. Information on mother tongue was available from the 1971 census. Under the assumption of constant mother tongue to ethnic group ratios, an estimate of the size of the ethnic group in 1971 could be calculated. The assumption is probably not entirely valid, since if changes between 1961 and 1971 involved primarily immigration, then the ratio of mother tongue and ethnicity could be expected to change. Nevertheless, the calculations would provide estimates better than those which might have been made on the basis of 1961 census data alone.

STRATA SAMPLING RATIOS FOR FIRST PHASE SAMPLING The next step was to assign a sampling ratio to each stratum in each city. The sampling ratios assigned were the minimum ratio for first phase sampling which would ensure that the final sample would contain **at least** the number of eligible respondents desired for each city and group based upon estimated distributions of ethnic groups in each city. (See chapter 2, and Table 3.3) It was believed initially that the use of differential strata sampling ratios would significantly increase screening efficiency. However, as was indicated in chapter III, the sample estimates showed this would not be the case because of the geographical dispersion of ethnic group members throughout each city. Thus sampling ratios ordinarily did not vary among strata within cities, although they did vary between cities. The sampling ratios are given in Table B.1.

In a few cases, variation in strata sampling ratios within cities was needed. Strata for small and relatively segregated groups needed to be oversampled to ensure minimum sample size. This was true of the Portuguese in Montreal and Toronto, and of the Greeks in Toronto. The residual strata in Montreal was undersampled because of its large size. Otherwise, the strata sampling ratios were uniform within cities.

THE CLUSTER SAMPLE DESIGN FOR FIRST PHASE SAMPLING The cluster sample design for the first phase of sampling was guided by the strata sampling ratios. For example, in Vancouver the city-wide sampling ratio of 0.0049195 applied to a 1971

TABLE B.1 First phase sampling ratios, by stratum

City	Stratum	Sample Ratio
Montreal	Portuguese	.0090000
	Residual	.0009000
	All Other Strata	.0020500
Toronto	Portuguese	.0036000
	Greek	.0039000
	All Other Strata	.0016831
Winnipeg	All Strata	.0092548
Edmonton	All Strata	.0100866
Vancouver	All Strata	.0056195

population of 1,082,355 yielded a first phase sample of 5,000 persons. Of course these 5,000 persons were not selected at random throughout Vancouver. In the cluster sample design, the cluster unit is the enumeration area (EA), a subunit of the census tract (CT), which contains on the average about 350 households. The cluster sample was designed in such a way that the strata sampling ratio would govern both the rate at which EA's would be relocated in each stratum and the rate at which households were selected within each EA.

Subsampling within EA's was necessary so that a sufficiently large number of EA's could be included in each stratum. If a typical EA contains 350 households, then in Vancouver, only $5,000 \div 350$, or about 14 EA's could be chosen in all Vancouver. That would be an average of only two EA's in each of Vancouver's seven strata. Field operations would be streamlined but sampling errors would be too high. As a compromise, it was decided to subsample about 35 households in each EA.

The number of EA's selected in each stratum was constrained by an additional factor other than the strata sampling ratio and the target of 35 households per EA. Because there was to be replicated sampling, it was necessary that an **even number** of EA's be selected in each stratum. That way, two independent samples of EA's could be drawn in each stratum.

This whole procedure is best summarized by means of example. In a Vancouver stratum with 30,000 households, the first phase strata sampling ratio of 0.0049195 indicates a target sample of 148 households. This would suggest that an even four EA's are needed in that particular stratum, on the assumption that in each EA, about 35 households would be sampled. If a selected EA contained 250 households, then a subsampling ratio of 1:7 would be used (simple ratios being necessary at this stage to simplify the field operation—an interviewer would simply stop at every seventh house in the EA.) Following standard statistical procedure for cluster samples, the probability of selecting each EA was proportionate to its size.

In each household, one individual was chosen for inclusion in the second phase sampling frame. The term "household" here is not used in the conventional sense. For the purposes of this study, a household which the screening interviewer found to contain persons whose ethnic background fell into more than one of the ten groups included in the study would be divided into an appropriate number of "pseudo-households", one corresponding to each ethnic origin. Thus, a unique identification of the ethnic origin of the pseudo-household is possible. Every household is broken up

TABLE B.2 Second phase sampling ratios for eligible respondents, by ethnic group and city

Ethnic Group	City				
	Montreal	Toronto	Winnipeg	Edmonton	Vancouver
German	1:1	1:4	1:4	1:4	1:9
Ukrainian	1:1	1:2	1:4	1:3	1:2
Italian	4:5	2:5	1:3	1:3	1:3
Dutch	1:1	2:3	1:5	1:1	1:1
Scandinavian	1:1	1:1	1:1	1:7	1:1
Polish	1:1	1:3	2:3	1:1	2:3
Chinese	1:1	1:1	1:1	1:2	1:1
Greek	1:1	1:1	1:1	1:1	1:1
Hungarian	1:1	1:1	1:1	1:1	1:1
Portuguese	1:1	1:1	1:1	1:1	1:1

into as many pseudo-households as there are adults in the household with different ethnic origin. Thus, for example, a household which turned out to contain 2 Greek, 2 Italian, one Indonesian and one Romanian eligible adult would be “broken up” into 3 pseudo-households: one containing the 2 Greeks, one the 2 Italians, and one the 2 “Others” (who are ineligible for interviewing). In case the screening interviewer discovered that a given household was actually two (or more) pseudo-households, each of the “new” households was included, with a screening for eligible respondents to be conducted within each of the pseudo-households.

SECOND PHASE SAMPLING The second phase sampling ratios, displayed in Table B.2, were established to produce a final sample in conformity with the group-by-city sample size requirements. These ratios were established in advance of the field operation on the basis of the sample estimates already described. Whole number ratios were used again to simplify field operations:

Since the sample estimates were only approximate, the application of the second phase sampling yielded a sample only in approximate, rather than exact, correspondence with the group-by-city sample size requirements. The estimated yield from the application of these sampling ratios to screened respondents is presented in Table B.3. These expected sample figures represented the number of respondents expected to turn up in the entire metropolitan areas, not just in particular strata. For example, it was expected that 32 Germans would turn up in the Toronto sample, even though there was no German stratum designated for Toronto.

The expected sample take conforms to the group-by-city sample size requirements in many respects, though not in all (compare with Table 3.3.) In Vancouver, for example, it was expected that sufficiently large samples of Chinese, Dutch and Scandinavians could be obtained. Similarly, in Edmonton, the expectation was that adequate samples of Dutch, Germans, Poles and Ukrainians would result. As a matter of fact, it proved possible to manipulate the sampling ratios to yield approximately the

TABLE B.3 Expected sample distribution, by ethnic group and city

Ethnic Group	City					Total
	Montreal	Toronto	Winnipeg	Edmonton	Vancouver	
German	38	32	93	93	29	285
Ukrainian	20	37	95	114	34	300
Italian	189	182	24	24	36	455
Dutch	8	35	17	93	102	255
Scandinavian	6	21	100	16	138	281
Polish	36	30	102	108	18	294
Chinese	22	35	16	17	107	197
Greek	100	89	11	6	13	219
Hungarian	19	30	17	14	18	98
Portuguese	57	93	23	14	14	201
Total	495	584	498	499	509	2585

desired sample takes in every case except for the Chinese in Toronto, the Hungarians both in Toronto and Montreal, and the Portuguese in Montreal.

The actual sample fell short of the expected sample by 152 respondents, or about 6 percent (compare Table 3.6 with Table B.3). The Chinese and Portuguese samples turned out to be even smaller than initially expected. The only other somewhat disappointing result was the Greek sample, which was small because it fell short in Montreal. The Hungarian sample turned out larger than expected. There were other ethnic groups for which the sample takes fell short of expectations in specific cities, but the differences were made up by excess in others.

Use of the interview data to estimate population characteristics entails that the data be weighted to compensate for differential sampling probabilities, and for differential interview completion rates. In general, the weight factor is defined as the inverse of the probability of selection of the unit sampled. The sampling probabilities can be calculated by multiplying together the probability associated with each successive stage of the sampling procedure. Thus, the probability that any individual from one of the ten ethnic groups was included in the final sample is a product of the following probabilities:

First Phase Cluster Sampling

1. the probability of selection of the enumeration area in which the individual resides
2. the subsampling ratio of households within the enumeration area
3. the probability of being selected within the household (the inverse of the number of persons in the household)
4. the probability that the first phase screening interview was completed (estimated on a city-by-stratum basis.)

Second Phase Sampling

5. the second phase sampling ratio in the particular city and ethnic group
6. the probability that the second phase main interview was completed (estimated on a city-by-stratum basis).

The first phase sampling probabilities 1 and 2 were established so that the overall first phase sampling ratios would be approximately as shown in Table B.1. However, the weight factors associated with first phase sampling are not exactly the inverse of the first phase sampling ratios. Instead, they are the inverse of the product of the actual probability of selection of the EA's, and the probability of selection within the EA's. Thus:

$$W_{1,2} = \frac{1}{P_{EA} P'_{EA}}$$

where $W_{1,2}$ is the weighting factor associated with probabilities 1 and 2 above; p_{EA} is the first probability (for selection of the EA) and p'_{EA} the second probability (for selection of households within the EA.) This should be clear from the discussion in Appendix B where sampling parameters were discussed, but it may be helpful to discuss in more detail the relationship between the first phase sampling ratios and sampling probabilities.

The probability of selection of an EA was directly proportional to the number of EA's to be selected within the stratum, and to the size of the EA relative to the size of the stratum. That is,

$$P_{EA} = \frac{nN_{EA}}{N_{CT}}$$

where p_{EA} is the probability of selection of an EA, n is the number of EA's to be selected in the CT, N_{EA} is the number of households in the EA, and N_{CT} is the number of households in the stratum. The parameter n is directly proportional to the first phase sampling ratio, s , and the size of the CT, N_{CT} and inversely proportional to the desired sample take within the EA, which was set to be about 35. But it is further constrained by the fact that it must be an even integer. Thus, we can in general write only:

$$n \approx \frac{sN_{CT}}{35}$$

where n is rounded to the nearest even integer. The probability of selection within the EA's is directly proportional to the desired sample take within the EA, about 35, and inversely proportional to the size of the EA, N_{EA} . But again it was constrained to be some integer ratio to facilitate field operations. Thus, we can in general write only:

$$P'_{EA} \approx \frac{35}{N_{EA}}$$

where $1/p_{EA'}$ is rounded to the nearest integer. Now we can show the relation between $W_{1,2}$ and s .

$$\begin{aligned} W_{1,2} &= \frac{1}{P_{EA} P'_{EA}} \\ &= \frac{1}{\frac{nN_{EA}}{N_{CT}} P'_{EA}} \\ &= \frac{.1}{\left[\frac{sN_{CT}}{35} \frac{N_{EA}}{N_{CT}} \right] \frac{.35}{N_{EA}}} \\ &= \frac{1}{s} \end{aligned}$$

This shows that the relationship between the weights and the first phase sampling ratios are only approximate, so that the weights must be computed from the actual sampling probabilities at the EA level.

The tables included in this appendix illustrate the data obtained from the respondents on a variety of variables of a socio-demographic type. Some of these tables have been included in the text, but a number are repeated here to provide a quick reference to socio-demographic features of the study.

TABLE D.1 Self-identification, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	IDENTIFICATION						(N)
	Ethnic	Ethnic Canadian	Canadian of Ethnic Origin	Canadian	Other	No Group	
Chinese	37.9	40.8	8.1	8.9	1.5	1.7	(57,636)
Dutch	7.2	19.4	12.9	58.6	1.0	0.6	(76,637)
German	8.6	22.5	13.3	50.2	3.6	0.9	(303,873)
Greek	31.4	46.0	9.3	12.8	0.3	0.0	(88,642)
Hungarian	11.6	34.0	16.3	36.3	0.6	0.6	(34,866)
Italian	26.5	39.4	12.7	19.5	1.1	0.5	(382,502)
Polish	4.1	22.4	18.4	50.6	2.3	1.2	(91,066)
Portuguese	40.4	45.7	7.2	4.2	1.3	0.0	(57,365)
Scandinavian	6.1	14.1	12.4	65.0	2.1	0.0	(69,353)
Ukrainian	7.8	34.1	12.6	44.5	0.3	0.4	(181,655)
Total	17.3	31.9	12.6	35.4	1.6	0.6	(1,343,593)

TABLE D.2 Proportional distribution of the weighted sample, by ethnic group in each city

Ethnic Group	City					(N)
	Montreal	Toronto	Winnipeg	Edmonton	Vancouver	
Chinese	6.0	33.6	3.7	10.1	46.6	(57,636)
Dutch	5.4	49.0	12.2	12.8	20.5	(76,638)
German	6.4	39.4	17.6	10.6	26.1	(303,876)
Greek	29.1	63.6	1.1	0.8	5.3	(88,642)
Hungarian	27.6	52.4	6.3	4.7	8.9	(34,866)
Italian	35.8	54.3	0.7	1.0	8.2	(382,499)
Polish	20.6	34.5	19.6	10.2	15.1	(91,066)
Portuguese	13.9	71.5	3.8	2.2	8.5	(57,365)
Scandinavian	1.8	22.9	13.9	14.8	46.6	(69,353)
Ukrainian	5.3	25.7	32.1	24.9	12.0	(181,656)
Total	17.6	44.2	11.8	8.9	17.4	(1,343,588)

TABLE D.3 Country of origin of respondent, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Country of Birth								
	Canada	United States	Austria	Germany	Greece	Holland	Italy	Portugal	Denmark
Chinese	11.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Dutch	28.9	3.3	0.0	0.1	0.0	60.0	0.6	0.0	0.5
German	36.3	3.1	5.2	41.4	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0
Greek	4.2	0.3	0.0	0.5	87.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Hungarian	17.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Italian	18.2	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.6	77.7	0.2	0.0
Polish	51.4	0.0	0.0	3.1	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0
Portuguese	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.0	88.1	0.0
Scandinavian	64.2	3.9	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	14.5
Ukrainian	63.5	0.2	1.6	2.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	31.6	1.3	1.4	10.0	5.9	3.6	22.2	3.8	0.8

TABLE D.3 (Continued)

Ethnic Group	Country of Birth									(N)
	Nor-way	Swe-den	Hun-gary	Rus-sia	Po-land	Ukraine	China	Hong Kong	Other	
Chinese	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	55.0	23.5	7.8	(57,636)
Dutch	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.8	(76,637)
German	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.7	3.9	1.2	0.0	0.0	2.8	(303,874)
Greek	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.7	(88,641)
Hun-garian	0.0	0.0	74.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.5	(34,866)
Italian	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	(382,500)
Polish	0.0	0.0	0.0	38.2	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9	(91,066)
Portu-guese	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.3	(57,365)
Scandi-navian	5.5	4.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.1	(69,353)
Ukrai-nian	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3	0.4	20.6	0.0	0.0	1.6	(181,652)
Total	0.3	0.2	2.2	3.2	1.1	3.1	2.4	1.0	2.7	(1,343,580)

TABLE D.4 Primary type of location in which respondent spent most of pre-adult years

Ethnic Group	Type of Location							(N)
	Farm	Village	Small Town	Small City	Medium City	Big City	Big City Suburb	
Chinese	3.1	17.1	10.4	9.7	7.5	50.1	1.7	(57,636)
Dutch	18.5	10.5	15.5	11.1	7.4	29.2	7.2	(76,637)
German	19.9	9.2	14.9	10.9	9.4	30.8	4.9	(303,876)
Greek	0.7	46.8	11.6	5.9	7.9	27.1	0.0	(88,642)
Hungarian	6.8	6.2	10.4	4.5	16.4	51.6	3.2	(34,866)
Italian	11.6	18.5	24.7	9.9	8.5	23.4	3.2	(382,503)
Polish	24.9	8.3	10.7	2.7	3.2	43.5	3.1	(91,066)
Portuguese	9.1	42.6	13.9	11.6	4.6	14.7	3.5	(57,365)
Scandinavian	26.5	4.3	24.5	7.8	4.7	26.7	5.3	(69,353)
Ukrainian	33.4	11.7	10.1	4.3	4.8	33.0	2.6	(181,656)
Total	17.2	16.1	16.7	8.5	7.5	30.0	3.6	(1,343,599)

TABLE D.5 Parent(s) lived with during the pre-adult years of respondents then living in Canada

Ethnic Group	Parent(s) Lived With					(N)
	Both Father and Mother	Father Only	Mother Only	Other	Inapp.	
Chinese	29.5	1.1	3.1	6.0	60.4	(57,636)
Dutch	48.1	0.3	1.7	2.2	47.7	(76,637)
German	46.9	0.2	2.1	1.7	49.1	(303,872)
Greek	14.1	0.8	1.5	4.2	39.3	(88,641)
Hungarian	30.4	0.0	1.8	1.9	65.9	(34,866)
Italian	32.2	0.5	0.7	2.7	63.9	(382,499)
Polish	58.1	0.6	1.5	5.9	33.9	(91,066)
Portuguese	13.9	0.0	0.0	1.3	84.8	(57,365)
Scandinavian	67.1	1.4	2.6	2.9	25.9	(69,353)
Ukrainian	76.2	0.9	1.8	0.3	20.9	(181,651)
Total	43.8	0.5	1.5	2.5	51.6	(1,343,585)

TABLE D.6 Age of respondent upon arrival in Canada

Age	Absolute Frequency	Percent
0-5	2,448	0.2
6-11	26,077	1.9
12-17	73,893	5.6
18-25	333,945	24.8
26-35	222,191	16.4
36-50	117,378	8.9
51-60	14,180	.9
Over 60	5,722	0.5
Inapp.	547,737	40.8
Total	1,343,547	100.0

TABLE D.7 Age at which respondent learned English well enough to use it in conversation

Age	Absolute Frequency	Percent
0-5	135,694	10.1
6-11	187,706	14.0
12-17	118,044	8.9
18-25	263,505	17.5
26-35	150,712	11.2
36-50	61,307	4.5
51-60	8,887	0.5
Over 60	0	0.0
Don't Know	2,199	0.2
Inapp.	442,523	32.9
Total	1,343,563	100.0

TABLE D.8 Age at which respondent learned French well enough to use it in conversation

Age	Absolute Frequency	Percent
0-5	13,339	0.9
6-11	27,206	2.0
12-17	59,176	4.5
18-25	39,085	2.8
26-35	35,544	2.6
36-50	10,719	0.7
51-60	—	0.0
Over 60	—	0.0
Don't Know	600	0.0
Inapp.	1,157,760	86.2
Total	1,343,404	100.0

TABLE D.9 Age at which respondent learned the non-official language well enough to use it in conversation

Age	Absolute Frequency	Percent
0-5	27,942	2.0
6-11	13,153	1.0
12-17	5,202	0.5
18-25	4,275	0.4
26-35	622	0.0
36-50	692	0.1
51-60	—	—
Over 60	—	—
Don't Know	615	0.0
Inapp.	1,290,768	96.1
Total	1,343,259	100.0

TABLE D.10 Country of birth of the respondent's mother

Country Of Birth	Absolute Frequency	Percent
Canada	208,253	15.5
United States	26,201	2.0
Austria	36,821	2.7
Germany	150,828	11.2
Greece	80,458	6.0
Holland	55,099	4.1
Italy	340,410	25.3
Portugal	53,790	4.0
Denmark	12,613	0.9
Norway	7,556	0.6
Sweden	6,010	0.4
Hungary	31,014	2.3
Poland	82,781	6.2
Russia	43,628	3.2
Ukraine	83,115	6.2
China	41,716	3.1
Hong Kong	7,106	0.5
Taiwan	52	0.0
Other	48,293	3.6
Don't Know	1,529	0.1
Total	1,343,572	100.0

TABLE D.11 Country of birth of the respondent's father

Country Of Birth	Absolute Frequency	Percent
Canada	153,426	11.4
United States	28,147	2.1
Austria	32,238	2.4
Germany	159,918	11.9
Greece	80,392	6.0
Holland	58,937	4.4
Italy	353,094	26.3
Portugal	53,094	4.0
Denmark	15,844	1.2
Norway	10,695	0.8
Sweden	11,979	0.9
Hungary	33,268	2.5
Poland	92,698	6.9
Russia	44,018	3.3
Ukraine	102,193	7.6
China	46,744	3.5
Hong Kong	7,164	0.5
Taiwan	52	0.0
Other	29,260	2.2
Don't Know	2,795	0.2
Total	1,343,575	100.0

TABLE D.12 Country of birth of the respondent's grandmother

Country Of Birth	Absolute Frequency	Percent
Canada	36,530	2.7
United States	14,599	1.1
Austria	37,406	2.8
Germany	195,151	14.5
Greece	79,964	6.0
Holland	61,633	4.6
Italy	366,811	27.3
Portugal	53,565	4.0
Denmark	20,561	1.5
Norway	17,453	1.3
Sweden	14,917	1.1
Hungary	33,168	2.5
Poland	85,840	6.4
Russia	39,944	3.0
Ukraine	120,267	9.0
China	52,484	3.9
Hong Kong	2,719	0.2
Taiwan	52	0.0
Other	26,025	1.9
Don't Know	45,620	3.4
Total	1,343,580	100.0

TABLE D.13 Country of birth of the respondent's grandfather

Country Of Birth	Absolute Frequency	Percent
Canada	27,515	2.0
United States	12,824	1.0
Austria	33,738	2.5
Germany	210,150	15.6
Greece	80,071	6.0
Holland	61,853	4.6
Italy	371,077	27.6
Portugal	53,418	4.0
Denmark	21,275	1.6
Norway	19,319	1.4
Sweden	15,807	1.2
Hungary	32,371	2.4
Poland	86,939	6.5
Russia	33,318	2.5
Ukraine	124,469	9.3
China	52,438	3.9
Hong Kong	2,719	0.2
Taiwan	52	0.0
Other	24,795	1.8
Don't Know	41,344	3.1
Total	1,343,580	100.0

TABLE D.14 Country of birth of the respondent's spouse

Country Of Birth	Absolute Frequency	Percent
Canada	351,262	26.1
United States	16,527	1.2
Austria	20,792	1.5
Germany	93,214	6.9
Greece	64,186	4.8
Holland	41,297	3.1
Italy	260,918	19.4
Portugal	42,346	3.2
Denmark	9,067	0.7
Norway	2,988	0.2
Sweden	3,684	0.3
Hungary	20,385	1.5
Poland	30,875	2.3
Russia	18,380	1.4
Ukraine	35,995	2.7
China	24,696	1.8
Hong Kong	3,369	0.3
Taiwan	424	0.0
Other	88,516	6.6
Inapp.	207,695	15.5
Total	1,343,558	100.0

TABLE D.15 Country of birth of the mother of the respondent's spouse

Country Of Birth	Absolute Frequency	Percent
Canada	200,045	14.9
United States	28,817	2.1
Austria	24,748	1.8
Germany	92,265	6.9
Greece	64,058	4.8
Holland	44,615	3.3
Italy	260,148	19.4
Portugal	43,095	3.2
Denmark	10,428	0.8
Norway	4,133	0.3
Sweden	4,979	0.4
Hungary	20,922	1.6
Poland	57,920	4.3
Russia	23,794	1.8
Ukraine	65,744	4.9
China	31,143	2.3
Hong Kong	1,625	0.1
Taiwan	424	0.0
Other	133,077	9.9
Don't Know	12,115	0.9
Inapp.	207,695	15.5
Total	1,343,564	100.0

TABLE D.16 Country of birth of the father of the respondent's spouse

Country Of Birth	Absolute Frequency	Percent
Canada	176,147	13.1
United States	18,770	1.4
Austria	27,248	2.0
Germany	102,694	7.6
Greece	63,304	4.7
Holland	46,439	3.5
Italy	274,640	20.4
Portugal	43,095	3.2
Denmark	10,120	0.8
Norway	4,675	0.3
Sweden	7,221	0.5
Hungary	20,591	1.5
Poland	63,824	4.8
Russia	21,960	1.6
Ukraine	71,940	5.4
China	32,083	2.4
Hong Kong	1,625	0.1
Taiwan	424	0.0
Other	132,707	9.9
Don't Know	9,719	0.7
Inapp.	207,695	15.5
Total	1,343,564	100.0

TABLE D.17 Number of years of education of the respondent, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Years of Education			(N)
	8 years or less	9-12 years	13 years or more	
Chinese	21.2	27.3	51.5	(57,636)
Dutch	30.2	48.9	20.9	(76,637)
German	18.2	58.0	23.8	(303,873)
Greek	57.8	31.2	11.0	(88,642)
Hungarian	16.0	41.8	42.2	(34,866)
Italian	61.6	22.3	16.1	(38,501)
Polish	25.7	49.3	25.0	(91,066)
Portuguese	79.8	14.1	6.1	(57,365)
Scandinavian	24.3	58.2	17.5	(69,353)
Ukrainian	27.0	47.0	26.0	(181,655)
Total	38.6	39.9	21.6	(1,343,592)

TABLE D.18 Number of years of education of the respondent's mother

Years of Education	Absolute Frequency	Percent
8 years or less	832,326	62.0
9-12 years	223,573	16.7
13 years or more	60,729	4.4
Don't Know	226,941	16.9
Inapp.	—	—
Total	1,343,564	100.0

TABLE D.19 Number of years of education of the respondent's father

Years of Education	Absolute Frequency	Percent
8 years or less	783,640	58.4
9-12 years	210,712	15.6
13 years or more	86,893	7.5
Don't Know	262,326	19.5
Inapp.	—	—
Total	1,343,563	100.0

TABLE D.20 Number of years of education of the respondent's spouse

Years of Education	Absolute Frequency	Percent
8 years or less	510,072	38.1
9-12 years	405,237	30.2
13 years or more	188,808	14.1
Don't Know	31,290	2.3
Inapp.	208,170	15.5
Total	1,343,569	100.0

TABLE D.21 Past attendance of ethnic school, by respondent

Attendance	Absolute Frequency	Percent
Number	497,025	37.0
Full-Time	22,412	1.7
Part-Time	129,193	9.6
Inapp.	693,416	51.6
Total	1,343,541	100.0

TABLE D.22 Respondent's perception of the effectiveness of the ethnic school in teaching the non-official language

Effectiveness	Absolute Frequency	Percent
Very Useful	69,858	5.2
Somewhat Useful	47,186	3.5
Not Very Useful	20,065	1.5
Not Useful At All	14,312	1.1
Don't Know	500	0.0
Inapp.	1,190,289	88.6
Total	1,343,393	100.0

TABLE D.23 Age of respondents, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Age					(N)
	18-25	26-35	36-50	51-60	Over 60	
Chinese	32.1	33.1	23.9	4.1	6.7	(56,948)
Dutch	16.3	22.3	39.5	11.2	10.7	(76,072)
German	18.9	24.8	33.6	11.8	10.7	(302,963)
Greek	24.4	33.8	32.1	5.9	3.9	(87,622)
Hungarian	16.9	19.5	27.9	12.1	23.6	(34,414)
Italian	21.7	24.1	37.8	9.4	7.1	(382,502)
Polish	18.7	22.2	29.1	12.1	17.7	(89,165)
Portuguese	18.6	35.5	37.1	6.1	2.8	(56,737)
Scandinavian	16.9	22.4	32.5	10.3	18.0	(68,122)
Ukrainian	19.4	20.9	32.6	12.8	14.3	(179,217)
Total	20.4	24.9	34.1	10.2	1.04	(1,333,752)

TABLE D.24 Proportion in each generational group according to ethnic origin

Ethnic Group	Percent Generation				(N)
	First Generation	Second Generation	Third Generation	Older Families	
Portuguese	99.5	0.0	0.0	0.5	(57,365)
Greek	95.8	3.5	0.8	0.0	(88,640)
Chinese	88.7	8.6	2.1	0.7	(57,636)
Hungarian	83.0	15.0	1.8	0.2	(34,866)
Italian	81.7	13.8	4.5	0.1	(382,499)
Dutch	70.3	15.2	7.8	6.7	(76,637)
German	62.8	17.6	14.6	4.9	(303,874)
Polish	48.4	40.9	9.9	0.7	(91,066)
Ukrainian	34.9	44.3	19.9	1.0	(181,655)
Scandinavian	34.6	44.5	18.6	2.3	(69,353)
Total	67.8	20.8	9.5	1.9	(1,343,586)

TABLE D.25 Generation distribution, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Generation				(N)
	First Generation	Second Generation	Third Generation	Older Families	
Chinese	51,097	4,956	1,197	386	(57,636)
Dutch	53,841	11,638	6,002	5,156	(76,637)
German	190,746	53,626	44,471	15,031	(303,874)
Greek	84,875	3,076	689	0	(88,640)
Hungarian	28,930	5,234	620	82	(34,866)
Italian	312,411	52,638	17,048	403	(382,499)
Polish	44,115	37,261	9,038	652	(91,066)
Portuguese	57,053	0	0	312	(57,365)
Scandinavian	23,996	30,866	12,900	1,591	(69,353)
Ukrainian	63,378	80,421	36,125	1,730	(481,655)
Total	910,442	279,716	128,091	25,342	(1,343,586)

TABLE D.26 Mother tongue stated by respondents

Mother Tongue	Absolute Frequency	Percent
English	254,419	18.9
French	22,137	1.6
German	217,705	16.2
Greek	80,821	6.0
Dutch	57,435	4.3
Italian	336,867	25.1
Portuguese	55,702	4.1
Danish	10,723	0.8
Norwegian	6,144	0.5
Swedish	6,285	0.5
Hungarian	30,456	2.3
Polish	58,398	4.3
Russian	4,396	0.3
Ukrainian	137,046	10.2
Chinese	52,900	3.9
Other	12,134	0.9
Total	1,343,566	100.0

TABLE D.27 Reported mother tongue retention levels, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Mother Tongue															
	Eng.	Fr.	Ger.	Gr.	Dutch	Ital.	Port.	Dan.	Nor.	Swed.	Hung.	Pol.	Rus.	Ukr.	Chin.	Other
Chinese	6.5	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	91.8	0.5
Dutch	22.8	0.3	2.7	0.0	74.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
German	27.2	2.3	69.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Greek	2.0	0.0	0.0	91.2	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.9
Hungarian	9.2	0.7	4.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	85.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Italian	8.7	3.2	0.1	0.0	0.2	87.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Polish	23.0	1.2	3.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	63.8	0.8	5.6	0.0	2.6
Portuguese	2.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	97.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Scandinavian	60.1	0.4	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	15.5	8.9	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.6
Ukrainian	26.5	0.5	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	72.4	0.0	0.2
Total	18.9	1.6	16.2	6.0	4.3	25.1	4.1	0.8	0.5	0.5	2.3	4.3	0.3	10.2	3.9	0.9

TABLE D.28 Composition of respondent's neighbourhood

Ethnic Group	Ethnic Composition				
	Ethnic	Mostly English/ French Canadian	Other	Mixed	Don't Know
Chinese	16.9	32.1	4.4	41.7	4.9
Dutch	1.7	39.8	2.9	52.2	3.4
German	1.9	36.3	4.1	51.5	6.2
Greek	37.4	22.6	3.3	35.5	1.2
Hungarian	0.0	40.8	2.2	55.0	1.9
Italian	24.9	22.9	2.4	47.5	1.9
Polish	0.3	31.4	3.7	62.0	2.6
Portuguese	20.9	15.1	6.4	51.6	4.9
Scandinavian	0.2	39.3	3.1	52.0	5.5
Ukrainian	6.7	18.2	5.5	66.3	3.3
Total	12.6	28.2	3.7	51.8	3.6

TABLE D.29 Number of children, by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Number of Children							None	(N)
	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven or More		
Chinese	10.1	20.0	9.6	8.8	6.2	2.5	0.0	42.8	(57,636)
Dutch	9.8	21.1	19.0	12.6	9.6	3.6	1.4	22.8	(76,637)
German	12.2	25.4	18.0	9.1	1.9	0.3	0.9	32.3	(303,876)
Greek	18.8	32.2	16.4	6.0	2.1	0.6	0.0	23.8	(88,642)
Hungarian	28.9	21.6	10.4	2.7	2.0	0.3	0.0	34.0	(34,866)
Italian	17.1	26.1	18.9	8.1	1.8	2.0	2.8	23.2	(382,503)
Polish	21.2	22.2	10.9	5.7	3.9	0.8	0.6	34.8	(91,066)
Portuguese	22.6	25.5	15.3	9.8	1.4	1.8	0.0	23.5	(57,365)
Scandinavian	17.7	22.5	13.6	7.7	6.2	1.8	1.7	28.3	(69,353)
Ukrainian	15.2	30.5	14.9	6.3	2.3	1.6	0.7	28.4	(181,656)
Total	16.0	25.8	16.4	8.0	2.9	1.4	1.3	28.1	(1,343,599)

TABLE D.30 Frequency of church attendance, by respondents, during pre-adult years

Ethnic Group	Frequency of Attendance				
	More Than Once a Week	Once a Week	One—Three Times a Month	Less Than Once a Month	Never
Chinese	4.2	31.9	7.5	23.6	28.5
Dutch	32.3	47.7	7.1	7.2	5.7
German	18.6	50.4	11.1	13.8	6.1
Greek	10.0	65.3	15.0	8.3	0.9
Hungarian	17.5	57.6	4.9	16.9	2.3
Italian	26.2	56.2	7.6	8.5	1.1
Polish	18.9	55.2	12.3	9.6	3.8
Portuguese	23.9	62.5	6.7	5.3	1.6
Scandinavian	15.3	40.1	11.1	23.5	6.2
Ukrainian	12.1	50.9	21.9	11.1	3.2
Total	19.5	52.6	11.2	11.5	4.4

TABLE D.31 Present religious preference of respondent

Ethnic Group	No Preference	Religious Preference					Greek Orthodox	Other
		Protestant	Roman Catholic	Jewish	Ukrainian Catholic	Ukrainian Orthodox		
Chinese	50.2	28.4	15.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.6
Dutch	13.9	59.3	21.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.6
German	17.0	57.4	21.0	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.0	3.6
Greek	2.7	1.1	2.4	0.0	0.0	1.4	90.9	1.5
Hungarian	13.4	21.7	55.6	3.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.7
Italian	4.2	2.8	91.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2
Polish	16.0	10.3	62.1	3.9	0.7	1.6	0.6	4.5
Portuguese	8.4	0.7	90.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7
Scandinavian	23.9	67.0	4.6	0.3	1.1	0.0	0.0	2.9
Ukrainian	13.5	17.6	13.8	0.3	30.5	9.6	8.8	6.0
Total	13.0	25.6	44.4	0.5	4.3	1.5	7.2	3.2

TABLE D.32 Present strength of respondent's religious beliefs

Ethnic Group	Strength of Beliefs			
	Very Strong	Somewhat Strong	Weak	Inapp.
Chinese	9.1	18.9	21.2	50.2
Dutch	36.9	22.7	26.5	13.9
German	19.5	33.4	29.5	17.0
Greek	48.3	30.1	18.3	2.7
Hungarian	19.6	34.0	31.5	13.1
Italian	42.8	35.3	16.9	4.2
Polish	31.3	28.5	21.6	16.0
Portuguese	39.0	35.8	16.8	8.4
Scandinavian	19.1	27.6	28.3	23.9
Ukrainian	24.7	35.5	24.8	13.8
Total	30.9	32.3	23.0	13.1

TABLE D.33 Religious preference of respondent's spouse

Ethnic Group	Religious Preference							Refuse to Answer	Inapp.
	No Preference	Protestant	Roman Catholic	Jewish	Ukrainian Catholic	Ukrainian Orthodox	Greek Orthodox		
Chinese	35.7	22.6	9.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	30.0
Dutch	17.7	48.4	20.9	0.1	0.4	0.0	0.1	0.5	11.2
German	13.4	51.2	18.6	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.6	1.1	11.9
Greek	1.8	2.2	3.6	0.0	0.0	1.5	72.2	0.0	18.3
Hungarian	18.7	22.3	36.9	3.0	2.5	0.0	0.0	0.5	15.5
Italian	4.4	4.0	74.9	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.1	1.3	14.2
Polish	15.3	11.9	46.8	1.9	1.9	1.3	1.1	1.5	16.7
Portuguese	1.1	3.0	73.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	21.8
Scandinavian	22.9	52.1	6.9	0.3	1.5	0.0	0.2	1.6	12.9
Ukrainian	12.8	18.0	12.7	0.2	19.6	7.5	6.1	0.8	18.3
Total	11.4	23.2	36.7	0.3	3.1	1.2	5.8	1.7	15.5

Survey of Non-Official Language Groups

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

PHASE II

1. How do you usually think of yourself; as a _____, or a _____
(group) (group)
-Canadian, or a Canadian- _____, or a Canadian, or what?
(group)

_____ 1
(group)

_____ -Canadian or Canadian- _____ 2
(group) (group)

Canadian of _____ origin 3
(group)

Canadian 4

Other (specify) 5

No particular group 6

DK 8

HAND CARD "A" TO R*

Before I ask more questions about yourself, I want to get your opinion on what problems, if any, are faced by _____ as a group in Canada.
(group)

As I read each one, just tell me whether you think that, for _____ in
(group)

Canada generally, the problem is very serious, somewhat serious, not very serious, or not a problem at all.

	Very Serious	Somewhat Serious	Not very Serious	Not a Problem	DK
2. ...not enough oppor- tunities for _____ (group) in Canada to continue education beyond high school.	1	2	3	4	8
3. ...loss of _____ (group) traditions and customs in Canada.	1	2	3	4	8

* See p. 268

	Very Serious	Somewhat Serious	Not very Serious	Not a Problem	DK
4. ...loss of interest in traditional religion of the _____ (group)	1	2	3	4	8
5. ...discrimination against _____ (group) by employers in Canada.	1	2	3	4	8
6. ...decreasing use of _____ (language) among _____ (group) in Canada.	1	2	3	4	8
7. ... _____ are too (group) much apart from other Canadians.	1	2	3	4	8
8. ...not enough opportunities for new _____ in (group) Canada to learn English.	1	2	3	4	8
9. ...not enough opportunities for new _____ in (group) Canada to learn French.	1	2	3	4	8

Now I'm going to repeat a couple of the same problems, and I would like you to tell me whether, **if** the government could act to correct the problem, you might be willing to have **taxes raised** to have this done.

	Yes	No	Depends	DK
10. ...loss of _____ (group) traditions and customs in Canada.	1	2	3	8
11. ...decreasing use of _____ (language) among _____ in Canada. (group)	1	2	3	8
12. In general, how close do you think _____ in Canada feel to one (group) another...				
...very close				1
...somewhat close				2
...not very close				3
...not close at all				4
DK				8

13. Are there any reasons you might have for feeling it to be **desirable** for _____ in Canada to maintain close ties to one another?
(group)

If so, what would be the **most important** reason?

(NOTE: Do not read alternatives; circle one response only.)

Help each other to get along and adjust in Canada1

Help to keep up _____ customs and traditions2

Help to keep up _____
(group)
(language)3

Other (specify) _____4

No reason7

14. Are there any reasons you might have for feeling it to be **undesirable** for _____ in Canada to maintain close ties to one another?
(group)

If so, what would be the **most important** reason?

(NOTE: Do not read alternatives; circle one response only.)

Not necessary for _____ to maintain close ties1
(group)

_____ in Canada should mix with other Canadians2
(group)

Other (specify) _____3

No reason7

15. On the whole, how desirable do you think it is for _____ in Canada to maintain close ties to one another...?
(group)

...very desirable1

...somewhat desirable2

...neither desirable nor undesirable3

...somewhat undesirable4

...very undesirable5

16. Do you think that there is something that might be called a _____ way of life that exists for at least some _____ in Canada?
(group)

Yes1

No2

SKIP TO Q. 18

GO TO Q. 17

17. What in your opinion is the **most important** part of the _____ way of life
for _____ in Canada?
(group)

(NOTE: Do not read alternatives; circle one response only.)

Festivals and holidays	1
Religious beliefs	2
Language used by _____ (group)	3
Food	4
Other (specify) _____	5
DK	8
Inapp	9

ASK EVERYONE:

18. Do you think there will come a time when most _____ in Canada will
(group)
have forgotten all about their ethnic past?

Yes	1
Depends (on what?) _____	2
No	3
DK	8

SKIP TO Q. 20

19. How long do you think this will take? I mean, about how many generations?

It has already happened	1
One generation	2
Two generations	3
Three or four generations	4
Five or more generations	5
Depends	6
DK	8
Inapp	9

HAND CARD "B" TO R

ASK EVERYONE:

20. In your opinion, how many people of _____ origin in Canada do you
(group)
think speak _____?
(language)

All or almost all	1
More than half	2
About half	3
Less than half	4
Few or none	5
DK	8

21. Do you think that the proportion speaking _____ in Canada has changed much in, say, the last ten years; has it...
- (language)
- ...decreased a lot1
 - ...decreased a little2
 - ...remained the same3
 - ...increased a little4
 - ...increased a lot5
 - DK8

22. Do you think there will ever come a time when _____ in Canada will no longer be speaking _____?
- (group) (language)
- Yes1
 - Depends (on what?)2
 - No3
 - DK8

SKIP TO Q. 24

GO TO Q. 23

23. How long do you think this will take? I mean, about how many generations?
- It has already happened1
 - One generation2
 - Two generations3
 - Three or four generations4
 - Five or more generations5
 - Depends6
 - DK8
 - Inapp9

ASK EVERYONE:

24. Are there any reasons you might have for feeling it to be desirable for _____ in Canada to speak _____? If so, what would be the _____?
- (group) (language)
- most important** reason?

(NOTE: Do not read alternatives; circle one response only.)

- Help to keep up _____ customs and traditions1
- (group)
- Help to communicate with other _____2
- (group)
- Second language is generally useful3
- Other (specify)4
- _____
- No reason7

25. Are there any reasons you might have for feeling it to be undesirable for _____ in Canada to speak _____? If so, what would be the most important reason?

(NOTE: Do not read alternatives; circle one response only.)

- Prevents mixing with other Canadians1
- Not necessary for _____ to speak _____2
- (group) (language)
- Other (specify) _____3
- No reason7

26. On the whole then, how desirable do you think it is for _____ in Canada to speak _____

- ...very desirable1
- ...somewhat desirable2
- ...neither desirable nor undesirable3
- ...somewhat undesirable4
- ...very undesirable5

27. Do you think a person can be a true _____-Canadian if he or she does not speak _____?

- Yes1
- No2
- DK8

Now I'm going to read some statements about _____. Tell me whether you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly.

Agree Agree Disagree Disagree
Strongly Somewhat Neutral Somewhat Strongly DK

28. ...the ability to speak _____ in Canada
(language)
opens up some good job opportunities.

1 2 3 4 5 8

29. ...trying to preserve one's identity as a _____ in Canada
(group)
is to some extent being disloyal to Canada.

1 2 3 4 5 8

30. ... _____ in Canada ought to assimilate as soon as possible.

1 2 3 4 5 8

Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Neutral	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly	DK
-------------------	-------------------	---------	----------------------	----------------------	----

- | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 31. ...there is nothing wrong with _____
(group)
in Canada changing their names to more English- or French-sounding names, if they want to. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 8 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

HAND CARD "B" TO R

Now I'm going to read a number of statements about English-Canadians. When I read each statement, please tell me whether you think it applies to all or almost all English-Canadians, more than half, about half, less than half, or few or none.

All or Almost All	More Than Half	Half	Less Than Half	Few or None	DK
-------------------------	----------------------	------	----------------------	-------------------	----

- | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 32. ...English-Canadians don't like to hear _____
(group)
talking to each other in _____
(language). | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 8 |
| 33. ...English-Canadians treat _____ just as they
(group)
treat other English-Canadians. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 8 |
| 34. ...English-Canadians want to see _____
(group)
become more like themselves. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 8 |
| 35. ...English-Canadians think of non-English-speaking Canadians as not fully Canadians. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 8 |

In Toronto, Edmonton and Vancouver
SKIP TO Q. 40

In Montreal and Winnipeg
GO TO Q. 36

Now, I'm going to read a number of statements about French-Canadians. When I read each statement, please tell me whether you think it applies to all or almost all French-Canadians, more than half, about half, less than half, or few or none.

	All or Almost All	More Than Half	Half	Less Than Half	Few or None	DK	Inapp.
36. ... French-Canadians don't like to hear _____ (group) talking to each other in _____ (language) .	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
37. ... French-Canadians treat _____ (group) just as they treat other French-Canadians.	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
38. ... French-Canadians want to see _____ (group) become more like themselves.	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
39. ... French-Canadians think of non-French speaking Canadians as not fully Canadian.	1	2	3	4	5	8	9

ASK EVERYONE:

40. When you were growing up, that is, before you were 18, for the **most part** did you live on a farm, in a village, in a small town, in a small city, a medium-sized city, or a big city, a suburb of a big city?

(NOTE: If respondent mentions two or more places where equal time was spent, ask for the one in which he lived **first**.)

Farm	1
Village	2
Small town	3
Small city	4
Medium-sized city	5
Big city	6
Suburb of a big city	7
DK	8

41. In what country did you spend **most of your time** while you were growing up?
(NOTE: Indicate country according to present boundaries.)

Canada01
SKIP TO Q. 43

- United States02
- Austria03
- Germany04
- Greece05
- Holland06
- Italy07
- Portugal08
- Denmark09
- Norway10
- Sweden11
- Hungary12
- Poland13
- Russia14
- Ukraine15
- China (Mainland)16
- Hong Kong17
- Taiwan (Formosa)18
- Other (specify)19

Ukraine - present youth

42. How old were you when you moved to Canada? _____

Inapp99

If R was 18 years old or older
SKIP TO Q. 53

I want to ask some questions about the time when you were growing up in Canada.

43. When you were growing up in Canada, did you live with your father and mother, or with whom did you live?

- Both father and mother1
- Father only2
- Mother only3
- Other (specify)4

SKIP TO Q. 51

Inapp9

44. Did they speak English well?
(if unclear, say: *Well enough to carry on a conversation?*)
- Both father and mother1
 - Father only2
 - Mother only3
 - No, neither4
 - Inapp9
45. Did they speak French well?
(if unclear, say: *Well enough to carry on a conversation?*)
- Both father and mother1
 - Father only2
 - Mother only3
 - No, neither4
 - Inapp9
46. Did they speak _____ well?
(language)
(if unclear, say: *Well enough to carry on a conversation?*)
- Both father and mother1
 - Father only2
 - Mother only3
 - No, neither4
 - Inapp9
47. What language, or languages, were used in your home?
- English only1
 - French only2
 - Ethnic language only3
 - Ethnic language and English4
 - Ethnic language and French5
 - Ethnic language, English and French6
 - Other (specify) _____7
 - Inapp9
48. How did your parents feel about your learning or keeping _____; did they ...
(language)
- ...strongly want you to learn or keep it1
 - ...somewhat want you to learn or keep it2
 - ...not care3
 - ...somewhat not want you to learn or keep it4
 - ...strongly not want you to learn or keep it5
 - Inapp9

49. How did you feel at the time about learning or keeping _____, did you...
(language)

(NOTE: If R says he **had no choice**, ask: "If you **had** had a choice, how would you have felt?")

- ...strongly want to learn or keep it1
- ...somewhat want to learn or keep it2
- ...not care3
- ...somewhat not want to learn or keep it4
- ...strongly not want to learn or keep it5
- Inapp9

50. Would you say that your parents hoped you would **maintain** ties with other _____?
(group)

- Yes1
- No2
- DK8
- Inapp9

51. Did you attend a _____ school or classes in Canada?
(group)

- No1

SKIP TO Q. 53

☐ Yes

Was this ever full-time, or was it only part-time or summer school?

- Full-time2
- Part-time or summer only3
- Inapp9

52. How effective do you feel the school was in teaching or developing the use of _____, was it...
(language)

- ...very useful1
- ...somewhat useful2
- ...not very useful3
- ...not at all useful4
- DK8
- Inapp9

ASK EVERYONE:

53. Are your parents still living?

FATHER MOTHER

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| Yes | 1 | 1 |
| No | 2 | 2 |

If "no" to both parents
→ SKIP TO Q. 56 ←

54. Where does (he, she) live now?

In this house	1	1
---------------------	---	---

SKIP TO Q. 56

In this neighbourhood	2	2
A mile or two away	3	3
Across town	4	4
Elsewhere in Canada	5	5
In _____ (country)	6	6
Other	7	7
Inapp	9	9

55. How often do you see (him, her)?

FATHER MOTHER

More than once a week	1	1
Weekly or several times a month	2	2
Monthly or several times a year	3	3
Yearly or less	4	4
Never	5	5
Inapp	9	9

ASK EVERYONE:

56. Do you maintain close ties with other _____ in Canada?
(group)

Yes	1
No	2

57. When you visit other people in their homes, are these people usually ...

...English-Canadians	1
...French-Canadians	2
... _____ (group)	3
...no particular group	4
DK	5

58. Do you have any relatives or in-laws now living in Canada (other than your parents, spouse or children)?

No1

SKIP TO Q. 60

☐ Yes
↓

Where do the **nearest** ones live; do they live...

... in this house2

SKIP TO Q. 60

... in this neighbourhood3

... a mile or two away4

... across town5

... another city6

59. How often do you see these relatives?

More than once a week1

Weekly or several times a month2

Monthly or several times a year3

Yearly or less4

Never5

Inapp9

ASK EVERYONE:

60. I would like you to think about your **three closest friends (or couples)** who are not relatives. (*Pause a second or two.*)

Now, of these three, how many are _____?
(group)

(NOTE: Count a couple as one friend. If either member of the couple is _____, count the couple as _____.)
(group) (group)

One1

Two2

Three3

None4

DK8

61. Of the people living in this neighbourhood, are they mostly _____, or mostly English-Canadian, or mostly French-Canadian, or some other group or what?

- Mostly _____ (group)1
- Mostly English-Canadians2
- Mostly French-Canadians3
- Other (specify) _____4
- No particular group, mixed5
- DK8

62. What language did you first learn in childhood and still understand?

English01

→ SKIP TO Q. 69 ←

- French02
- German03
- Greek04
- Dutch05
- Italian06
- Portuguese07
- Danish08
- Norwegian09
- Swedish10
- Hungarian11
- Polish12
- Russian13
- Ukrainian14
- Chinese15
- Other (specify) _____16

***This is the mother tongue
Write in margin***

If interview is being conducted in English

→ SKIP TO Q. 65 ←

HAND CARD "D" TO R

	Very Well	Fairly Well	Not Very Well	Not At All	Inapp.
63. When you hear others speak English, how well do you understand them?	1	2	3	4	9
64. How well do you speak English yourself?	1	2	3	4	9

If R answers "not very well" or "not at all" to either Q. 63 or Q. 64

SKIP TO Q. 67

65. At what age would you say you learned English well enough to use it in a conversation?

Inapp.99

66. How often do you speak English...	
...every day	.1
...every day, but only at place of work or in school	.2
...often, but not every day	.3
...occasionally	.4
...rarely	.5
...never	.6
Inapp.	.9

	Very Well	Fairly Well	Not Very Well	Not At All	Inapp.
67. How well do you read English?	1	2	3	4	9
68. How well can you write English?	1	2	3	4	9

If mother tongue is French:

SKIP TO Q. 76

If mother tongue is not French, but interview is being conducted in French

SKIP TO Q. 72

69. Do you know any French at all?

Yes1
No2

SKIP TO Q. 76

Inapp9

HAND CARD "D" TO R

	Very Well	Fairly Well	Not Very Well	Not At All	Inapp.
70. When you hear others speak French, how well do you understand them?	1	2	3	4	9
71. How well do you speak French yourself?	1	2	3	4	9

If R answers "not very well" or "not at all" to either Q. 70 or Q. 71

SKIP TO Q. 74

72. At what age would you say you learned French well enough to use it in a conversation?

_____ .99
Inapp

73. How often do you speak in French?

...every day1
...every day, but only at place of work or in school2
...often, but not every day3
...occasionally4
...rarely5
...never6
Inapp9

	Very Well	Fairly Well	Not Very Well	Not At All	Inapp.
74. How well can you read French?	1	2	3	4	9

80. How often do you speak in _____
(language) ...

- ... every day1
 ... often, but not every day2
 ... occasionally3
 ... rarely4

... never5

→ SKIP TO Q. 82 ←

Inapp9

81. Do you ever feel uncomfortable about using _____ when there are
(language)
others nearby who do not speak _____?
(language)

(If R says "yes", ask if "always" or "sometimes".)

- Yes, always1
 Yes, sometimes2
 Not usually3
 No4
 It depends5
 No friends who speak _____6
(language)
 Inapp9

Very	Fairly	Not	Not	
Well	Well	Very	At	Inapp.
		Well	All	

82. How well can you read _____ ? 1 2 3 4 9
(language)

83. How well can you write _____ ? 1 2 3 4 9
(language)

84. Would you say that your own use of _____ has increased, decreased, or
(language)
remained the same over the past five years (or since you have been in Canada, if
this is less than five years)?

- Increased1
 Remained the same2
 Decreased3
 Inapp9

For Toronto, Winnipeg, Edmonton, Vancouver only:

If R answers "never" to Q. 80

SKIP TO Q. 98

I want to ask about which language or languages you would use today if you were speaking to different persons?

Code

English only	1
French only	2
Ethnic language only	3
Either ethnic language or English	4
Either ethnic language or French	5
English or French	6
Other	7
No preference	8
Inapp.	9

Code

85. Father	_____
86. Mother	_____
87. Spouse	_____
88. Brothers	_____
89. Sisters	_____
90. Other relatives—Father's side	_____
91. Other relatives—Mother's side	_____
92. Close friends	_____
93. Co-workers or classmates	_____
94. Grocer	_____
95. Doctor	_____
96. Priest, rabbi, or minister	_____

97. What language or languages do you usually prefer to use in conversation with others outside your home who can speak the same language(s) you do; that is, in what language(s) do you feel most comfortable?

English only	1
French only	2
_____ only	3
(language)	
Either _____ or English	4
(language)	
Either _____ or French	5
(language)	
English or French	6
Other (specify) _____	7
No preference	8
Inapp.	9

If R knows no _____ (see margin)
(language)

SKIP TO Q. 108

98. Do you know of a television channel you can get in _____ which regularly broadcasts programs in _____?
- (city)
- (language)

No1

SKIP TO Q. 99

☐ Yes

How regularly would you say you watched any of these programs in _____ on television...

(language)

...regularly2

...sometimes3

...rarely4

...never5

No TV6

Inapp9

SKIP TO Q. 100

99. How interested would you be to watch T.V. programs in _____ if they were televised...
- (language)

...very interested1

...somewhat interested2

...somewhat uninterested3

...very uninterested4

Depends5

DK8

Inapp.9

100. Do you know of a radio station you can get in _____ which **regularly** broadcasts programs in _____?
- (city)
- (language)

No1

SKIP TO Q. 101

☐ Yes

How regularly would you say you listened to any of these programs in _____ on radio...?

(language)

...regularly2

...sometimes3

...rarely4

...never5

No radio6

Inapp.9

SKIP TO Q. 102

101. How interested would you be to listen to radio programs in _____ if they were broadcast...
(language)

- ...very interested1
- ...somewhat interested2
- ...somewhat uninterested3
- ...very uninterested4
- ...Depends5
- DK8
- Inapp.9

102. In the past year, have you read any _____ newspapers or bulletins written in _____ ?
(group) (language)

- Yes1
- No2

SKIP TO Q. 108

Inapp.2

Mark
response
in margin.

103. Can you tell me the names of these newspapers or bulletins you have read, and whether or not you subscribe to them?
(List 4 main ones only but check below if R reads more than 4.)

Name of Publication	Subscribes	
	Yes	No
1. _____	1	2
2. _____	1	2
3. _____	1	2
4. _____	1	2
5. <input type="checkbox"/> R reads more than 4.	1	2

104. Would you say you read _____ publications...
(group)

- ...regularly1
- ...occasionally2
- ...rarely3
- Inapp.9

105. For how long have you been reading _____ publications in Canada?
(group)

- Less than one year1
- About one year2
- About two years3
- Three to five years4
- Six to ten years5
- More than ten years6
- DK8
- Inapp.9

106. Do any of these newspapers that you read contain parts written in English or French?

- Yes1
- No2
- DK8
- Inapp.9

107. Do you think that some English or French **should** be used in these newspapers?

- Yes1
- No2
- Depends3
- Don't care4
- DK8
- Inapp.9

ASK EVERYONE:

108. In the past year, have you read any _____ newspapers or bulletins that
(group)
are written completely in English or French?

- Yes1
- No2

If R answered "no" also on Q. 102 (see margin)

SKIP TO Q. 122

If R answered "yes" on Q. 102 (see margin)

SKIP TO Q. 111

109. Can you tell me the names of these publications, and whether or not you subscribe to them?

(List 4 main ones only but check below if R reads more than 4.)

Name of Publication	Subscribes	
	Yes	No
1. _____	1	2
2. _____	1	2
3. _____	1	2
4. _____	1	2
5. <input type="checkbox"/> R reads more than 4.	1	2

110. Would you say you read these newspapers in English or French...

...regularly	1
...occasionally	2
...rarely	3
...Inapp.	9

111. If there are some _____ newspapers you read in **any language**, but to
(group)
which you don't subscribe, how do you most often get them?

Subscription only	1
Newsstands	2
Personal sources (i.e. friends, relatives etc.)	3
Other (specify) _____	4
Inapp.	9

112. When you have finished reading these newspapers, do you regularly pass them on to other people?

Yes	1
No	2

SKIP TO Q. 114

Inapp.	9
--------	---

113. How many people would you say you regularly pass these newspapers to?

One	1
Two or three	2
Four or five	3
Six to nine	4
Ten or more	5
DK	8
Inapp.	9

When you read these newspapers, what parts are you **most likely** to read?
(Do not read alternatives.)

		Yes	No	Inapp.
114.	News from old country	1	2	9
115.	News about _____ in Canada (group)	1	2	9
116.	News about _____ in _____ or elsewhere . (group) (country)	1	2	9
117.	General news	1	2	9
118.	_____ Sports (group)	1	2	9
119.	_____ Entertainment (group)	1	2	9
120.	Advertisements	1	2	9
121.	Other (specify)	1	2	9

SKIP TO Q. 124

122. Have you **ever**, even before the past year, read any of these _____
(group)
newspapers in _____, English or French?
(language)

Yes1

No2

DK, don't remember8

SKIP TO Q. 124

Inapp.9

123. Why don't you read them anymore?

Not available	1
---------------------	---

No longer interested2

Other (specify) _____

3

Inapp.9

HAND CARD "C" TO R

ASK EVERYONE:

I'm going to list several ways in which the use of _____ among _____ in Canada might be encouraged. Assuming that we wanted to do this,

please tell me whether you think these might be very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or very unimportant.

(NOTE: If R protests that he does not want to encourage the use of _____ (language) and cannot answer the questions, check here ☐ and skip to Q. 137.)

	Very Imp.	Some- what Imp.	Neutral	Some- what Unimp.	Very Unimp.	DK	Inapp.
124. ...more _____ (group) schools in Canada.	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
125. ...better _____ (group) schools in Canada.	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
126. ...more _____ (group) newspapers in Canada.	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
127. ...better _____ (group) newspapers in Canada.	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
128. ...more radio and TV programs in _____ in (language) Canada.	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
129. ....better radio and TV programs in _____ in (language) Canada.	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
130. ... _____ taught (language) or used as a language of instruction in some courses in the public schools.	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
131. ...more visits to _____ . (country)	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
132. ...summer camps for _____ children. (group)	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
133. ...the establishment of _____ cultural (group) centers in Canada.	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
134. ...more _____ (language) books.	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
135. ...more _____ (language) movies.	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
136. ...more _____ (language) phonograph recordings.	1	2	3	4	5	8	9

ASK EVERYONE:

137	How many children do you have?	
	One	1
	Two	2
	Three	3
	Four	4
	Five	5
	Six	6
	Seven or more	7
	None	8

SKIP TO Q. 162

If R does not know any _____ (see margin).
(language)

SKIP TO Q. 139

If R knows any _____ (see margin).
(language)

GO TO Q. 138

Ask Q. 138 to Q. 144 first about Child A (oldest), then Child B (second oldest), then Child C (third oldest).

Child A Child B Child C

138	What proportion of the time do you use _____ when you speak to (him, her)? (language)
-----	---

Always	1	1	1
Most of the time	2	2	2
Some of the time	3	3	3
Never	4	4	4
Inapp.	9	9	9

If child is 3 years old or less (see cover)

SKIP TO Q. 145

HAND CARD "D" TO R

139	How well can (he, she) speak English?			
	Very well	1	1	1
	Fairly well	2	2	2
	Not very well	3	3	3
	Not at all	4	4	4
	Inapp.	9	9	9

140. How well can (he, she) speak French?

Very well	1	1	1
Fairly well	2	2	2
Not very well	3	3	3
Not at all	4	4	4
Inapp.	9	9	9

141. How well can (he, she) speak _____ ?
(language)

Very well	1	1	1
Fairly well	2	2	2
Not very well	3	3	3
Not at all	4	4	4
Inapp.	9	9	9

→ Circle 4 and skip to Q. 143

If R does not know any _____
(language)

SKIP TO Q. 143

142. What proportion of the time does this child use _____ when (he, she) speaks to you?
(language)

Always	1	1	1
Most of the time	2	2	2
Some of the time	3	3	3
Never	4	4	4
Inapp.	9	9	9

143. How has (he, she) felt about learning or continuing to use _____ ; has (he, she) ...
(language)

... strongly liked to	1	1	1
... somewhat liked to	2	2	2
... does not care	3	3	3
... somewhat resisted it	4	4	4
... strongly resisted it	5	5	5
Inapp.	9	9	9

144. Have you ever had disagreements with (him, her) about this?

Yes	1	1	1
No	2	2	2

If more than 1 child:

GO TO GO TO
Child B Child C

GO TO Q. 145

145. Are there any reasons you might have for being in favour of your children learning or continuing to use _____? If so, what would be the **most important** reason? (language)

(NOTE: Do not read alternatives; circle one response only.)

- Help to keep up _____ customs and traditions1
(group)
Help to communicate with other _____2
(group)
Second language is generally useful3
Other (specify) _____
_____4
No reason7
Inapp.9

146. Are there any reasons you might have for being opposed to your children learning or continuing to use _____? If so, what would be the **most important** reason? (language)

(NOTE: Do not read alternatives; circle one response only.)

- Prevents mixing with other Canadians1
Not necessary for them to learn _____2
(language)
Children do not like _____, and it is not good to force them
(language)3
Other (specify) _____
_____4
No reason7
Inapp.9

147. On the whole then, how do you feel about your children learning or continuing to use _____; are you...? (language)

- ...strongly in favour1
...somewhat in favour2
...does not matter3
...somewhat opposed4
...strongly opposed5
Inapp.9

148. In thinking of these 3 languages — English, French and _____, how (language)
would you rank them (1st, 2nd, 3rd) in terms of importance to your children's future.

- English
French
_____ (language)
Inapp.9

149. If there were language courses in the local public and secondary schools in which _____ was taught, would you insist that your children take such courses, or just encourage them, or would you discourage them?

Insist1
 Encourage2
 Don't care3
 Discourage4
 DK8
 Inapp.9

150. If courses in which teachers used _____ were offered in the local public and secondary schools, would you insist that your children take at least one such course, or would you just encourage them, or discourage them?

Insist1
 Encourage2
 Don't care3
 Discourage4
 DK8

NOTE: If all children are under 6 years of age

SKIP TO Q. 156

151. Have you ever sent any of your children to a _____ school in Canada?
 (group)

Yes1

SKIP TO Q. 152

☐ No
 ↓

What is the main reason you didn't send them?

Not available2
 Too far away3
 Costs too much4
 Not interested5
 Other (specify) _____
 _____8

SKIP TO Q. 155

152. Was this ever full-time, or was it only part-time or summer school?

Full-time1
 Part-time or summer school only2
 Inapp.9

153. Who sponsored the school: a church, the government, or who?

Church1
 Government2
 Other (specify) _____3
 DK8
 Inapp.9

154. How do you **now** feel about the school, did it do most of what you hoped it would, only some, very little, or none?

Most	1
Some	2
Very little	3
None	4
DK	8
Inapp.	9

*If R does not know _____ (see margin)
(language)*

SKIP TO Q. 157

155. Have you tried to teach your children _____ by using books?
(language)

Yes	1
No	2
Inapp.	9

156. Do you ever insist that your children speak to you in _____ ?
(language)

Yes	1
No	2
Inapp.	9

HAND CARD "D" TO R

157. How well would you say you expect your children eventually to learn
_____ ?
(language)

...very well	1
...fairly well	2
...not very well	3
...not at all	4
DK	5
Inapp.	9

*If **all** children are under 6 years of age*

SKIP TO Q. 161

158. Have you ever sent any of your children to a summer camp?

Yes	1
No	2
DK/don't remember	8

SKIP TO Q. 161

Inapp.	9
-------------	---

159. Were any of the camps you sent your children to mostly for _____ children? (group)
- Yes1
- No2
- DK5

SKIP TO Q. 161

Inapp.9

GO TO Q. 160

160. What language primarily was used in the camp?
- English only1
- French only2
- Ethnic language only3
- Ethnic language and English4
- Ethnic language and French5
- Other (specify)6
- DK8
- Inapp9

161. Other things being equal, whom would you prefer your child to marry, a ...
- ... _____ person1
- (group)
- ... English person2
- ... French person3
- ... someone from other group4
- ... does not matter5
- DK8
- Inapp9

ASK EVERYONE:

162. When _____ parents in Canada want their children to learn the history, language and culture of _____ people, who should do the **main** job of teaching them ...
- ... parents1
- ... schools in areas where many _____ live near one another, (group)
- ... otherwise the parents on their own2
- ... schools all across Canada3
- Other (specify)4
- DK9

163. Supposing schools are used, what types of schools do you think should be **mainly** relied on to teach the history, culture and language of _____ (country) to _____ children...?

... primary schools	1
... secondary schools	2
... _____ schools	3
(group)	
... church schools	4
... colleges and universities	5
Other (specify)	6
DK	8

164. Who would you say should pay **most** of the costs for _____ (group) children to be taught the history, language and culture of _____ (country)?

... children's parents	1
... _____ generally	2
(group)	
... Canadian taxpayers generally	3
Other (specify)	4
DK	8

165. What language or languages do you think should be the official languages of the Canadian federal government. . .

... English and French all over Canada	1
... just English all over Canada	2
... just French all over Canada	3
Other (specify)	4
DK	8

166. Do you know about the federal government's policy of **multiculturalism**?

Yes	1
No, only heard about it	2
No, have not heard about it	3

SAY: I'm going to read a short statement describing multiculturalism:

"Canada is officially bilingual, but it is not officially bicultural. Instead, Canada has many cultural and ethnic groups, and the Federal Government says that it will help all of these groups in their efforts to keep their own cultural characteristics and heritages."

167. How do you feel about this policy; do you . . .

... agree strongly	1
... agree somewhat	2
... uncertain	3
... disagree somewhat	4
... disagree strongly	5

168. Why do you feel this way?

Will help maintain _____ identity	1
(group)	
Will strengthen Canadian unity	2
Will weaken Canadian unity	3
Other (specify) _____	

_____	4

169. When you were growing up, what was the religious preference of your father and mother?

	FATHER	MOTHER
No religious preference	0	0
Protestant	1	1
Roman Catholic	2	2
Jewish	3	3
Ukrainian Catholic	4	4
Ukrainian Orthodox	5	5
Greek Orthodox	6	6
Other (specify) _____	7	7
DK	8	8
Inapp (parent dead)	9	9

*If R answers "no religious preference" for both father and mother
SKIP TO Q. 172*

170. How often did your father and mother go to church (or synagogue or temple)...

... more than once a week	1	1
... once a week	2	2
... one to three times a month	3	3
... less than once a month	4	4
... never	5	5
Refuse to answer	7	7
DK	8	8
Inapp	9	9

171. How strong would you say your father's and mother's religious beliefs were...

... very strong	1	1
... somewhat strong	2	2
... somewhat weak	3	3
... very weak	4	4
DK	8	8
Inapp.	9	9

ASK EVERYONE:

172. When you were growing up, how often did you go to church (or synagogue or temple)?

- ...more than once a week1
- ...once a week2
- ...one to three times a month3
- ...less than once a month4
- ...never5
- Don't remember.....8

173. What is your present religious preference?

- No religious preference0

SKIP TO Q. 186

- Protestant1
- Roman Catholic2
- Jewish3
- Ukrainian Catholic4
- Ukrainian Orthodox5
- Greek Orthodox6
- Other (specify)7
- Refuse to answer8

174. How strong would you say your own religious beliefs are today?

- ...very strong1
- ...somewhat strong2
- ...somewhat weak3
- ...very weak4
- Refuse to answer7
- Inapp.....9

175. Compared to five years ago, would you say that you are now...

- ...much more religious1
- ...somewhat more religious2
- ...about the same3
- ...somewhat less religious4
- ...much less religious5
- Refuse to answer7
- Inapp.....9

176. How often do you attend services at a church (or a synagogue or temple)?

- ...more than once a week1
- ...once a week2
- ...one to three times a month3
- ...less than once a month4
- ...never5
- Refuse to answer7
- Inapp.....9

177. How often do you go to a church (or a synagogue, or a temple) for activities other than church services?
- ... more than once a week1
 - ... once a week2
 - ... one to three times a month3
 - ... less than once a month4
 - ... never5
 - None available6
 - Inapp9

178. Would you prefer to see someone close to you, like one of your children, marry a _____ who was outside your religion, or someone who was not _____ (group) _____ but in your religion?
- (group)
- A _____ outside my religion1
 - (group)
 - A non-_____ in my religion2
 - (group)
 - Would insist on a _____ in my religion3
 - (group)
 - Indifferent4
 - Depends (specify) _____5
 - _____5
 - DK8
 - Inapp9

HAND CARD "B" TO R

179. In the local church with which you are most closely associated, what proportion of the other members are from the same ethnic group as yourself?
- All or almost all1
 - More than half2
 - About half3
 - Less than half4
 - Few or none5
 - Not associated with church6

SKIP TO Q. 184

- DK8
- Inapp9

180. In the local church with which you are most closely associated, what languages are used in the services?

- English only1
 French only2
 _____ only3
 (language)
 _____ and English4
 (language)
 _____ and French5
 (language)
 Other (specify)6
 Inapp9

181. In the church with which you are most closely associated, what languages do you think should be used in the services?

- English only1
 French only2
 _____ only3
 (language)
 _____ and English4
 (language)
 _____ and French5
 (language)
 Other (specify)6
 Inapp9

182. What do you think is the effect of using _____ in some of the churches,
 ... does it... (language)

- ... help strengthen the church, by enabling more people to
 participate1
 ... have no effect2
 ... weaken the church, by preventing some people from
 participating3
 Depends4
 DK8
 Inapp9

183. If churches use _____, what effect does this have on keeping up the
 (language)
 _____ language among _____, does it... (group)

- ... encourage people to keep up _____1
 (language)
 ... have no effect2
 ... discourage people from keeping up _____3
 (language)
 Depends4
 DK8
 Inapp9

If R has no children 6 years old or older

SKIP TO Q. 186

184. Do your children ever attend religious services and activities?

No1

SKIP TO Q. 186

☐ Yes
↓

How often?

Every week2
One to three times a month3
Less than once a month4
Inapp9

185. Do your children usually attend the same church you do?

Yes1
No2
Do not attend church3
Inapp9

ASK EVERYONE:

186. Are you a member of a labour union, a trade association, or a professional association?

No1
Yes, labour union2
Yes, trade association3
Yes, professional association4
Yes, more than one of these5
DK, not sure6

187. Do you participate in **any** organized activities, clubs or other groups other than those already mentioned? If so, in about how many of these activities would you say you participate?

(NOTE: Do not include church membership or labour union, trade, or professional association: **do** include participation in related activities such as church choirs, company bowling leagues, etc.)

One1
Two2
Three3
Four4
Five to seven5
Eight to ten6
More than ten7

None8

SKIP TO Q. 196

188. Let's take the organization or group in which you are most active. What is the **name** of the organization (**you don't have to give the name if you don't want to**)? What would you say is the **major activity** of this organization: is it sports, social activity, business, religious, political, cultural, or educational, or what?

WRITE IN NAME: _____

Sports	1
Social activity	2
Business	3
Religious	4
Political	5
Cultural or educational	6
Combination of these	7
Other (specify)	8
Inapp	9

189. Have you ever been an officer (like president or treasurer) in this organization or served on any committee?

Officer	1
Served on committee	2
Both officer, and committee member	3
No, have not served on committee nor been an officer	4
Inapp	9

190. How many meetings of this organization or its committees have you attended in the past year?

None	1
One	2
Two or three	3
Four or five	4
More than five	5
Inapp	9

HAND CARD "B" TO R

191. How many of the members of this organization are _____?
(group)

All or about all	1
More than half	2
About half	3
Less than half	4
Few or more	5
DK	8
Inapp	9

192. What languages do members of this organization use when they get together?

English only1
French only2

SKIP TO Q. 195

_____ only3
(language)
_____ and English4
(language)
_____ and French5
(language)

GO TO Q. 193

Other language (specify) 6

SKIP TO Q. 195

Inapp9

193. Suppose the organization stopped using _____, would you favour this,
oppose it, or perhaps not really care? (language)

Favour1
Not care2

SKIP TO Q. 195

Oppose3
Inapp9

194. If it did happen, do you think you would continue to participate?

Yes1
No2
DK8
Inapp9

If R mentioned more than one organization in Q. 187, ask:

195. Are any of the organizations we have not discussed _____ clubs?
(group)

Yes1
No2

SKIP TO Q. 196

Inapp9

What is the **name of this organization?**

ASK EVERYONE:

196. Have you ever been a member of a _____ club or organization
(group)
in Canada to which you now no longer belong?

- Yes1
No2

SKIP TO Q. 198

What is the **name of the organization**?

197. Why are you no longer a member?

- Organization no longer exists1
No longer eligible (e.g. too old)2
Moved away3
Lost interest4
Other (specify)5
Inapp9

ASK EVERYONE:

198. Which would you prefer: to belong to associations or clubs in which most
members are _____, or associations or clubs in which members are
(group)
people from different groups?

- Prefer to belong to associations in which
most members are _____1
(group)
Prefer to belong to associations in which members are people from
different ethnic groups2
Does not matter3
Depends4
Prefer to belong to no associations or clubs5
DK8

199. For how many years did you go to school full-time?

200. Did you ever attend a trade school, business or commercial school, or some
other special vocational school of this kind?

- Yes1
No2

If R attended 11 years of school or more, ask:

201. Did you attend a college or university?
- No1
- Yes → Did you earn a degree/diploma in the college or university?
- Yes2
- No3
- Inapp9

ASK EVERYONE:

202. Have you been enrolled in any school in the past year?
- No1

SKIP TO Q. 204

☐ Yes

What kind of school was this?

- High school2
- Correspondence school3
- College or university (day classes)4
- College or university (evening classes)5
- Vocational school6
- Other (specify)7

203. Did you take any courses in _____ or in _____ history or culture?
- (language) (group)

- Yes, language1
- Yes, history2
- Yes, culture3
- Yes, a combination of the three4
- No, none5
- Inapp9

ASK EVERYONE:

Now I'm going to ask you a few more general questions about yourself and your family.

204. Are you working at the present time, are you in your own business, unemployed, something else?

- Self-employed1
 - Employed full-time2
 - Employed part-time3
 - Laid-off temporarily4
 - Out of a job5
 - Retired or permanently disabled6
 - Full-time student7
 - Housewife8
- ASK A & B
- ASK A & B FC
FATHER,
GUARDIAN,
OR SOURCE
SUPPORT

A. What kind of work (do you, did you) normally do (in Canada)?
(Probe for exact description of occupation.)

B. What kind of business or industry (is, was) it?

If R is single and has never married (see cover)
SKIP TO Q. 214

NOTE: If R was married more than once, ask Q. 205 to Q. 211 about most recent spouse.

205. In what country was your spouse born?

Inapp99

206. And (his, her) mother and father; in what country were they born?

Spouse's Father: _____

DK98

Inapp99

Spouse's Mother: _____

DK98

Inapp99

207. To what ethnic or national group (does, did) your spouse belong?

Inapp99

208. (Does, did) your spouse have a religious preference?	
No religious preference	.0
Protestant	.1
Roman Catholic	.2
Jewish	.3
Ukrainian Catholic	.4
Ukrainian Orthodox	.5
Greek Orthodox	.6
Other (specify) _____	.7
Refuse to answer	.8
Inapp	.9

209. For how many years did your spouse go to school?	_____
Inapp	.99

*If (she, he) attended **less** than 11 years of school*
SKIP TO Q. 212

If (she, he) attended 11 years of school or more
GO TO Q. 210

210. Did (she, he) ever attend a college or university?	
Yes	.1
No	.2
DK	.8
SKIP TO Q. 212	

Inapp	.9
-------	----

211. Did (she, he) earn a degree/diploma in the college or university?	
Yes	.1
No	.2
DK	.8
Inapp	.9

If separated, divorced, or widowed (see cover)
SKIP TO Q. 213

If married and living with spouse
GO TO Q. 212

212. Is your spouse working at the present time; does (he, she) have (his, her) own business; is (he, she) unemployed, or what?

Self-employed	1	ASK A & B
Employed full-time	2	
Employed part-time	3	
Laid-off temporarily	4	
Out of a job	5	
Retired or permanently disabled	6	
Full-time student	7	
Housewife	8	
Inapp	9	

A. What kind of work does (he, she) (did he, she) normally do?
(Probe for exact description of occupation.)

Inapp9999

B. What kind of industry or business (is, was) that?

SKIP TO Q. 215

213. A. What kind of work did your spouse do during most of the time that you were living together?
(Probe for exact description of occupation.)

Inapp9999

B. What kind of business or industry was that?

214. How important in choosing a future spouse would be (his, her) ethnic origin... ?

...very important	1
...somewhat important	2
...not very important	3
...not at all important	4

ASK EVERYONE:

215. How many years did your father go to school?

If he attended **less** than 11 years of school

SKIP TO Q. 218

If he attended 11 years of school or more

GO TO Q. 216

216. Did he ever attend a college or university?	
Yes	1
No	2
DK	8

SKIP TO Q. 218

Inapp	9
217. Did he earn a degree/diploma in the college or university?	
Yes	1
No	2
DK	8
Inapp	9

ASK EVERYONE:

218. How many years did your mother go to school?	_____
---	-------

If she attended **less** than 11 years of school
SKIP TO Q. 221

If she attended 11 years of school or more
GO TO Q. 219

219. Did she ever attend a college or university?	
Yes	1
No	2
DK	8

SKIP TO Q. 221

Inapp	9
220. Did she earn a degree/diploma in the college or university?	
Yes	1
No	2
DK	8
Inapp	9

HAND CARD "E" TO R

ASK EVERYONE:

221. Would you please look at this card, and tell me which figure comes closest to your total family income (that is, the combined incomes of all family members who live in this household) for the past year — before taxes, that is. Just tell me the letter combination next to the figure that fits you best.

FC	.....01	(Less than \$1,000)*
KE	.....02	(\$1,000—\$1,999)
DI	.....03	(\$2,000—\$2,999)
HB	.....04	(\$3,000—\$3,999)
LG	.....05	(\$4,000—\$4,999)
JA	.....06	(\$5,000—\$5,999)
IF	.....07	(\$6,000—\$6,999)
AK	.....08	(\$7,000—\$7,999)
GL	.....09	(\$8,000—\$8,999)
BD	.....10	(\$9,000—\$9,999)
LD	.....11	(\$10,000—\$11,999)
FA	.....12	(\$12,000—\$13,999)
CA	.....13	(\$14,000—\$15,999)
CH	.....14	(\$16,000—\$19,999)
EJ	.....15	(\$20,000 or more)
Refuse to answer	.....17	
DK	.....18	

222. Are you a Canadian citizen?

Yes	.....1
No	.....2

223. How regularly do you follow the political and governmental affairs in Canada?

Regularly	.....1
From time to time	.....2
Never	.....3

224. How regularly do you attend meetings about political affairs in Canada?

Regularly	.....1
From time to time	.....2
Never	.....3

225. Are you eligible to vote in Canadian elections?

Yes	.....1
No	.....2
DK	.....3

SKIP TO Q. 229

* These figures were not listed on the questionnaire itself — only the respondents saw the figures on the card.

226. Many people didn't vote in the last federal election because they were sick, away at the time, and so on. Did you vote in the last federal election, or did something keep you from voting?

- Yes, did vote1
- No, didn't vote2
- Refuse to answer7
- DK/don't remember8

SKIP TO Q. 228

- Inapp9

HAND CARD "G" TO R

227. Did you feel that the candidate you voted for was...

- ...strongly favourable to _____ (group)1
- ...somewhat favourable to _____ (group)2
- ...neither favourable nor unfavourable to _____ (group)3
- ...somewhat unfavourable to _____ (group)4
- ...strongly unfavourable to _____ (group)5
- DK8
- Inapp9

HAND CARD "H" TO R

228. If a candidate for public office was _____, do you think you might be... (group)

- ...very much more likely to vote for him1
- ...somewhat more likely to vote for him2
- ...unaffected by his being _____ (group)3
- ...somewhat less likely to vote for him4
- ...very much less likely to vote for him5
- Depends6
- DK8
- Inapp9

229. One final question, and then we're finished. Everything considered, how do you think your ethnic background has affected your chances of getting ahead in life as a Canadian. Has it...

- ...interfered a lot1
- ...interfered a little2
- ...not affected3
- ...helped a little4
- ...helped a lot5

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION

Post-Interview Questions to be Answered by Interviewer

Record the time ____ : ____

Circle one A.M. P.M.

230. In what language was the interview conducted?

English .....	.01
French .....	.02
German .....	.03
Greek .....	.04
Dutch .....	.05
Chinese .....	.06
Magyar .....	.07
Italian .....	.08
Polish .....	.09
Portuguese .....	.10
Ukrainian .....	.11
Other (specify) _____	.12

231. How well did the respondent speak in the language in which the interview was conducted?

Very well .....	.1
Somewhat well .....	.2
Not very well .....	.3

232. Were the interpretive cards used during the interview?

Cards were often necessary .....	.1
Cards were occasionally necessary .....	.2
Cards were not used .....	.3

233. Do you think the respondent was...

...truthful .....	.1
...evasive .....	.2
...untruthful .....	.3
DK .....	.4

234. Were there any disturbances during the interview?

Yes .....	.1
No .....	.2

235. Did the respondent seem interested during the interview?

Very interested .....	.1
Interested .....	.2
Indifferent .....	.3

236. Was his attitude...

... Favourable .....	.1
... Indifferent .....	.2
... Not favourable .....	.3

Survey of Non-Official Language Groups

PHASE I

1. Is Selected Address Live? ☐ Dead? ☐
2. How many households at this address?
3. Was household information obtained?

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| Yes | 1 |
| No, | |
| ill, aged | 2 |
| refused | 3 |
| language problem | 4 |
| absent | 5 |
| Other (explain) _____ | 6 |

4.

DAY	MONTH	TIME		COMMENTS
			a.m.	
			p.m.	
			a.m.	
			p.m.	
			a.m.	
			p.m.	
			a.m.	
			p.m.	
			a.m.	
			p.m.	

Interviewer's Signature _____

5. List of Persons in Household

FOR SELECTED
RESPONDENTS ONLY

Relation to Head	Age	Sex	M.S.	*Ethnicity	In Starred Box?	If Starred, record Group Name and Person Number	Selected?	Country of Birth	If born in Canada or U.S., ASK: Year of immigra- tion to North America of parents or grandparents?

*To what ethnic or cultural group do you belong?
(Record in table above from groups listed below).
– Do not accept “Canadian” as response. Probe with – “To what ethnic or cultural group did your ancestors (on the male side) belong on coming to this continent?”

- German
- Italian
- Dutch
- Polish
- Ukrainian
- Chinese
- Greek
- Hungarian
- Portuguese
- Scandinavian

CARD A

- VERY SERIOUS
- SOMEWHAT SERIOUS
- NOT VERY SERIOUS
- NOT A PROBLEM

CARD B

- ALL OR ALMOST ALL(85-100%)
- MORE THAN HALF(60- 84%)
- ABOUT HALF(40- 59%)
- LESS THAN HALF(15- 39%)
- FEW OR NONE(0- 14%)

CARD C

- VERY IMPORTANT
- SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT
- SOMEWHAT UNIMPORTANT
- VERY UNIMPORTANT

CARD D

- VERY WELL
- FAIRLY WELL
- NOT VERY WELL
- NOT AT ALL

CARD E

- FC. Less than \$1000
- KE. \$ 1000 - \$ 1999
- DI. \$ 2000 - \$ 2999
- HB. \$ 3000 - \$ 3999
- LG. \$ 4000 - \$ 4999
- JA. \$ 5000 - \$ 5999
- IF. \$ 6000 - \$ 6999
- AK. \$ 7000 - \$ 7999
- GL. \$ 8000 - \$ 8999
- BD. \$ 9000 - \$ 9999
- LD. \$10000 - \$11999
- FA. \$12000 - \$13999
- CA. \$14000 - \$15999
- CH. \$16000 - \$19999
- EJ. \$20000 or more

CARD F

- AGREE STRONGLY
- AGREE SOMEWHAT
- DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
- DISAGREE STRONGLY

CARD G

- Strongly favourable to _____
(group)
- Somewhat favourable to _____
(group)
- Neither favourable nor unfavourable to _____
(group)
- Somewhat unfavourable to _____
(group)
- Strongly unfavourable to _____
(group)

CARD H

Very much more likely to vote for him.

Somewhat more likely to vote for him.

Unaffected by his being _____.
(group)

Somewhat less likely to vote for him.

Very much less likely to vote for him.

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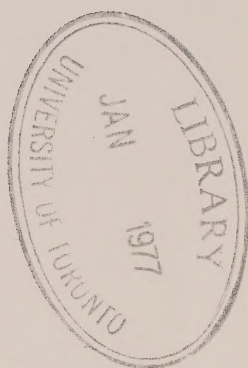
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Government
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